SOCIAL DETERMINANTS
OF
EDUCABILITY IN INDIA

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—PAPERS IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Edited By
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To Mr. Jugal Kishore, my father,
teacher and inspiring guide to me
in the teaching profession.

PREFACE

The collections included in this volume are contributions of social scientists on a number of significant problems of education in India today. They try to show in seemingly different ways as to how the educability or the educational possibilities of students is hindered in homes, neighbourhood, schools and colleges in our country.

We begin with the conceptual framework of the social determinants of educability and a review of studies relating to them in India presented by the editor in the introductory chapter. This follows a review article based on the western studies on the determinants of educability by two eminent British sociologists of education, Mrs. Jean Floud and Dr. A.H. Halsey whose several authoritative writings on this theme have been a very great source of enlightenment and inspiration to us. This helps in sensitizing us to understand the various intricate problems of educability in our own society.

Dr. S.N. Sarkar, a psychologist, highlights some of the psychological determinants of educability in India and illustrated them by citing an interesting case-study in his brief paper.

Dr. K.N. Venkatarayyappa, a leading sociologist of the country, discusses the societal context of Indian education in theoretical perspective. He points out as to how the political ideology of the State, concept of liberal education in our democracy, curricula, methods of instruction, integrity and efficiency of teachers etc. determine the educability of our children.

We have included Dr. C.A. Anderson's well-known paper "The Social Context of Educational Planning". Dr. Anderson, a distinguish American sociologist, is the greatest authority on this subject. His discussion of seven sociological limitations on educational planning should be of a very great help to our educational planners and educationists. He has admirably shown how not merely economic provisions but a number of cultural, social, ecological and political factors influence the development and effectiveness of education and determine the educability of children

belonging to different social backgrounds in innumerable ways in a developing society like our's.

Both Dr. K.C. Vyas, Principal and proprietor of one of the most progressive public schools in India, and Dr. B. Mehdi, a well-known expert in guidance and counselling, have discussed in their papers the problems of gifted school children from two closely related yet identifiable perspectives—educational and psychological. They have highlighted the role of teachers and parents in removing the various barriers to the educability of such children.

Professor Uday Shanker, a distinguished educationist and an authority on juvenile delinquency in India, discusses, on the basis of a study conducted by him, the various social determinants of deliquency in our school children where-by their educational growth is stunted.

Professor V.S.D' Souza, a reputed Indian sociologist, reports the findings of an empirical study conducted by him which shows us to how caste and occupational background of parents determine the degree of illiteracy and the amount and quality of education.

Mr. Raghunandan Goswami, a young sociologist studies, on the basis of 286 critical incidents narrated by school students, the actual behaviours of secondary school teachers in Delhi which have hindered their educability. These incidents show that many of our school teachers act as a negative determinant of the educational possibilities of children due to their cultural myopia, social discrimination, lack of responsibility, frustration and lack of motivation for teaching. Despite its being a small study, it is probably the only empirical sociological study on teachers so far available in the area of social determinants of educability in India. There is a very great need of carrying out similar studies on a very large scale in all regions of the country. Findings of such studies are bound to be of an immense utility to our social and educational planners who are desperately trying to formulate effective plan policies and to our educational administrators, supervisers and teachers who are now really concerned with the qualitative improvement of school education and the welfare of our future citizens.

Dr. S.P. Ahluwalia, an enthusiastic teacher-educator, discusses the bases and implications of the concept of neighbourhood school and points out as to how the various limitations placed on the educational development of children by the social stratification of our society can be removed by having effective neighbourhood schools.

Dr. L.K. Oad, a well-known teacher-educator, discusses the various implications of decentralization and their impact on school education in Rajasthan. The transfer of primary schools from the State Education Department to the institutions of Democratic Decentralization in Rajasthan has till now been a matter of much controversy for a number of years. We have it on the authority of the researcher and the case studies collected by him that the teachers in such schools have remained much frustrated mainly due to mal-administration, unhealthy human relations and lack of teaching facilities and opportunities for their vertical mobility. What a great harm can a frustrated teacher unmotivated to teach do to his students may very well be imagined by any intelligent person himself.

Our leading authority on the problems of Indian tribal communities, Dr. B.K. Roy Burman, gives us a fairly detailed, seasoned and insightful exposition of the multiple positive and negative determinants of the educability of tribal children. He has offered various suggestions which are of a very great value to our educational planners and practising teachers concerned with the education and welfare of tribal children.

The editor, a sociologist of education, presents a case study of the education, formal as well as informal, of the Gaduliya Lohars, a nomadic backward caste in Rajasthan studied by him for over four years. The various determinants of illiteracy as well as educability in that community are revealed by this case-study. These educational problems have been discussed by him in the background of the society and culture of the community in question.

In another paper by him, the editor analyzes the various problems of Indian education in a sociological perspective. He categorizes these problems into four broad factors : value conflicts and their educational implications, social malaise and the context

of education, socio-cultural lags at different levels, and teaching as a problem profession. He emphasizes that the educability of our school and college students is ultimately affected by these factors.

In a brilliant paper on teen-agers of the Delhi University, Miss Suneet Veer Singh, a mass communication personnel, presents a lively exposition of factors like class, parental influence, parental social position, companionship, spirit of adventure and traditional values of the collegiates which deeply affect their educability and progress in life

Mr. Chitta-Ranjan, a writer on educational problems, and Dr. P.C. Joshi, a sociologist, present in their theoretical papers excellent sociological analysis of the various causes of student unrest, a phenomenon which is largely responsible for the lack of proper motivation in our students for their studies and which seriously hinders the process of their becoming good citizens.

Dr. D.S. Chauhan, an economist cum rural sociologist, examines the behaviour of our youth on the basis of the data of his study on 'Trends of Urbanization in Agra'. He emphasizes the need of a proper appreciation of their psychological, social and physical environment and value pattern by educationists, teachers and students.

Dr. S.P. Aiyer, an spirited political scientist and a frequent commentator on the educational problems of our colleges and universities, makes a fiery attack on the unplanned expansion of higher education and authoritarianism in our academic institutions. These two factors, according to him, are largely responsible for causing frustration and studentocracy in our students and, thereby, hindering their educability.

Dr. M.T. Ramji, a Gandhian educationist, makes a vigorous call for education in values—social, moral and spiritual, in his brief paper, since he believes that students' lack of motivation or concern for their education and welfare is largely due to the value-crisis in contemporary India in which we have been caught up.

Dr. P.C. Joshi, a sociologist keenly interested in the problems of the underdog in our society, reports the findings of two empirical studies on literacy and education in rural areas and draws interesting conclusions from them.

V. V. John, an eminent Indian educational administrator, critic and editor of *Quest*, discusses language as an important determinant of educability of our children.

Dr. B.S. Goel, a scholar of history of education, describes the influences of caste and class tensions prevalent in contemporary India society on our educational system.

Thus from different angles all these papers throw interesting light on the kaleidoscopic nature of the social determinants of educability in India. They provide as a lot of valuable primary as well as secondary research data and a number of brilliant analyses of the different social aspects of Indian education.

This book of readings is unique in at least three respects. Firstly, unlike most readers or text-books on sociological foundations of education which discuss the problems of higher education and simply ignore problems of school education, this reader has tried to accomodate the problems of both these stages in a balanced way and has thus maintained their natural continuity and kinship.

Secondly, as these papers have been written by specialists in the different areas and disciplines, they provide the reader the benefit of a broad and comprehensive social science perspective and not just the unitary perspective of education or sociology.

Thirdly, we have tried to cover a fairly large canvas of the social determinants of educability in India. If we have missed some areas, it is mainly due to the fact of the non-availability of good writings and researches in these areas so far.

It is hoped that this collection of papers will be found useful by social scientists, educational planners, teacher-educators, teacher-trainees and parents in India and abroad. Comments and suggestions of the readers of this volume are welcome by the editor.

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Social Determinants of Educability : The Concept and A Review of Studies in India

I. Social Determinants of Educability : The Conceptual Frame-Work

Social determinants of educability constitutes a very important aspect of sociology of education. By educability is meant educational possibility. The possibilities of the educational development of an individual are determined by several factors which may broadly be classified into two aspects—physical aspect and social aspect. Under the physical aspect are covered the influences of heredity on the health, physical features, intelligence etc., all of which are the basic stuff of which one's personality is formed. Under the social aspect are covered the diverse influences of sociological, economic, cultural, philosophical and political factors which constitute the whole societal environment of the child on his educational possibilities. The learning, levels of educational achievement and the influencing power of his personality, on which his success in his vocational career as well as in other walks of his life largely depend, are substantially promoted or hindered by several such factors.

An analysis of these factors in a sociological perspective requires of us to divide these factors into two broad categories: firstly, the factors in the society or in the environment of the child in his family, caste group, class level, neighbourhood, peer group, religious organisation, parental vocation, other economic and cultural organisations and the political ideology and institutions of the society of which he is a member ; and, secondly, the factors rooted within the school or college system.

Among the various institutions and associational factors involved in the societal environment, the influences of the factors associated with the child's family like its size, nature of the family, existence of parents, mutual adjustment between the parents, education and occupation of the parent, parents' attitudes, love and aspirations towards their child and his education, the degree of sacrifice that

they are prepared to make in the forms of money, time and energy for their children etc., are of the utmost importance. Due to his birth in a certain family, a child automatically enjoys certain social, economic and cultural benefits, positions or facilities, but at the same time he has to bear the prejudices, atrocities, restrictions, hinderances or handicaps imposed by others on him. All these factors are closely linked with the formal as well as informal institutions of the social structure of his society in a very distinct pattern, and such patterns are bound to differ in cases of other incumbents in the same or other societies, or even in the case of the same incumbent within his own society with the elapse of time and consequent shift or change in the social milieu.

So meaningfully do these environmental factors work that in many cases their influence usually supersedes the influences or limits imposed by the physical factors like the child's health, intelligence etc. Several experiments conducted by psychologists and sociologists on individual children as well as on twins have shown that the environmental factors have usually an edge over the heredity or genetic factors. By proper training, nourishment, medical treatment, motivating social relationship, affection and perseverence etc., it is certainly possible to affect some changes for the better in the physical endowment of the child. The experiments of some psychologists have shown that even the intelligence of a person can be increased to some points by providing him a suitable environment. Apart from this aspect, we must not forget our common observation in almost all human societies in the contemporary world that even the best gifts of heredity go waste or lie unheeded if the person concerned is located in a low cultural and social group engulfed in poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and superstitions. Underdeveloped or developing countries have a fairly large percentage of persons gifted with high inborn intelligence and potentialities to develop who have unfortunately never been privileged to enter the bowers of the Muses due to their abject poverty or rigid cultural and social stratification prevailing in their society. Many a bud are destined to remain unbloomed or perish due to the neglect caused by the interplay of these various compulsive social, economic and cultural restrictions.

Having been born in and cradled and modelled by these societal factors, the individual comes to school or college—a formal institution for receiving his education which seeks to prepare him for his future life. There are two types of social and cultural systems in the school—formal as well as informal. The formal system of the school includes formal policies, aims, management, rules, regulations, curricula, textbooks, medium of instruction, organisation of curricular as well as extra-curricular activities, provision of freeships, scholarship and other amenities for children, examinations etc. The informal system of the school includes teachers' cliques, students' peergroups, prejudices, biases, favours, discriminations and values of the members of the management and teachers, students' likes and dislikes for their teachers and systems in their institutions, unwritten traditions, mores and fashions popular in teachers and students, inspiring or discouraging attitudes, patience and social sensitivity of teachers, the working of conjunctive as well as disjunctive social processes, problems of freshers, unrest in students as well as teachers etc. All these factors located within the social system of the school or college have a great determining effect on the educational possibilities of a child. Adverse factors among them may create distaste or lack of motivation in him for his studies and make him a dullard, truant, delinquent or the like and condemn him to the problem of wastage or stagnation, while favourable factors may stimulate him to achieve a series of grand successes in his educational career one after the other.

It must be noted that all or even most of these intra-institutional factors are not specifically the creations of the institution itself. Many of them are certainly the extensions or reflections of the factors originating and operating in the society at large, i.e. in the social system existing outside the boundary of the school or college. All the role players in the formal educational institution—the members of the management, teachers, librarian, clerks, students, peons etc. work according to the formal rules of procedure of the institution as well as under the influences of the various intra-institutional or inter-institutional factors in their society. Thus, for example, it is often seen that many Brahmin school teachers in India usually favour Brahmin students and abhor Harijan students, and teachers coming from middle classes hold their own

middle class expectations for all children in their classes in utter disregard, knowing or unknowingly, to the fact that the educational expectations of the lower and higher classes are certainly different from those of the middle class. The political ideology and pressures working outside the school threaten to influence the teachers also and compel them to think and act in accordance with the dominating national, state and/or local political ideology even while performing their role in the school or college.

It, therefore, becomes necessary for us to take into account the complex interaction between the social environment of the child and the social environment of the school and college in which he receives his formal education. Since family or home is of the greatest importance among the various institutions of the society, Mrs. Jean Floud has rightly pointed out that "the interaction of homes and schools is the key to educability............There are, in fact, two main sources of social influence on the educational process on the one hand, family environment and general background of teachers and pupils (and, in the case of teachers, also their professional needs and habits), on the other, the social organisation, formal and informal, of schools, colleges and universities. The child may come to school ill-equipped for, or hostile to, learning under any educational regime ; but for most part his educability depends as much on the assumptions, values and aims personified in the teacher and embodied in the school organisation into which he is supposed to assimilate himself, as on those he brings with him from his home.[1]

It is a fact that although the influence of home and other factors in the environment on the education of children have been studied by some scholars in the west, the part played by the social system within the school or college has not been studied to a satisfactory extent. Floud and Halsey have, therefore, rightly emphasised the need of more and more studies in the sociology of the school. They have justly emphasised ".......the need for a most elaborate inspection of what actually goes in schools, of what the assumptions and values are that have been embodied in their organisation, of what implicit as well as explicit demands they make on pupils."[2]

This, in brief, is the theoretical frame of reference for a proper sociological study of the problems of educability in a given society.

II. Studies in the West

Studies on the social determinants of educability conducted in the West are not many, but even then the available ones have certainly tried to meet the demands of most of the constituents of this frame of reference. They have studied various interesting aspects of the theme and their findings are of much significance to us. Jean Floud and A.H. Halsey have reviewed these studies in their paper[3] included in this volume.

III. Studies in India : A Brief Review

(a) *Studies by Psychologists* : Social determinants of educability is a *comparatively unexplored field of study in India. We do not have a sufficient number of studies in it.* During recent years, there have been only some small beginnings in the field made by psychologists, educationists, social anthropologists and sociologists. Systematic studies in the sociology of education have started in India during this decade only. Although there are about two dozen university departments of sociology and anthropology, about a score university departments of education and approximately one thousand colleges teaching sociology or education in the country, the number of scholars and researchers actively interested in sociology of education, and, more, so, in the specific area of social determinants of educability is very less. There is a great dearth of data based on actual research studies in this field. There are, of course, several hortative, journalistic or merely theoretical writings on some of the aspects of this area. Our social planners and educational planners and administrators face a lot of difficulties in getting into the depth of various sensitive and intricate problems of education in our society and in fixing due priorities therein as a result of the pinching lack of research data relating to the various aspects of this important area.

Among the psychologists, the contributions of B. Mehdi[1], Bhatt and Advani[5], Ghosh and Sinha[6], Natraj and Murthy[7], Rohila and Thakural[8], U. Pareek[9], D. Sinha[10], P. Mehta[11] and some others throw some light on a few aspects of educability.

Mehdi studied differential factors in pupil success in science, arts and commerce courses at the higher secondary stage taking

326, 364 and 414 students in the three faculties respectively. This study challenges the prevailing assumption of our teachers and parents that science courses require a higher level of intelligence than the arts and commerce courses. He concludes that having less intelligent students in the arts and commerce courses not only affects educational attainments but also brings down the quality of the turn out of these students when they take up the jobs. In some of his papers, Mehdi has discussed the socio-psychological determinants of the adjustment of gifted children in school.

Bhatt and Advani studied a sample consisting of 50 school teachers, 50 parents and 200 students of class X in a school in Gujrat and concluded that, (i) on the whole, girls had more favourable attitudes than boys ; (ii) deviant boys had less favourable attitudes than normal boys in all the eight areas studied ; (iii) boys had most favourable attitudes towards boy-girl relationship and religion; and (iv) deviant boys had most favourable attitudes towards teachers and parents and least favourable towards social and civil values.

Ghosh and Sinha studied role perception of parents in case of 36 subjects (16 paired siblings) of different age groups drawn from two local schools of Madras. They found that (i) the mother had been perceived more as a source of reward by the younger siblings, there being no difference in the older siblings between the perception of two parents ; (ii) the mother had been perceived as more punitive in both groups ; (iii) both the groups had perceived the father as the authority in the family structure ; (iv) the mother had been considered as more nurturent than the father ; (v) in both groups, there had been a slight evidence that the mother had been held more in fear than the father ; (vi) the father had been conceptualized as the chief identification figure more frequently by both the siblings ; and (vii) high scores for overall perception of the parents in different roles had suggested greater proximity and conceptualized interaction with the mother in both the group of siblings.

Natraj and Murthy studied social distance observed by 185 girl students of the Maharani College, Mysore, and found Vokkaligas and Sindhis less conservative and observing the least social distance towards others, while greater distance had been observed by others towards the Sindhis, Vokkaligas and Coorgis.

Rohila and Thakurni studied the work values of 26 men and 53 women teachers under training in Delhi and found that they had valued self-expression, social service, esteem and fame as most important values while independence and security comparatively less important values.

In some of his interesting papers, Pareekh has discussed the element of fear in children and certain psychological and cultural impediments to development which affect children as well.

Sinha presented a psychological analysis of some factors associated with success and failure in universal education on the basis of a sample of 185 high achievers and 190 low achievers. He found the existence of an obvious relationship between anxiety and poor adjustment with low achievement, and a rural background and low achievement. It was also revealed by the study that neither the high nor the low achievers had attached much importance to a proper study habit.

Mehta studied the 'n' Achievment level of 575 boys studying in class IX of 32 Delhi Higher Secondary Schools. This study revealed that the 'n' Achievement level of the children of the parents belonging to semi-professional groups was consistently higher than those of the subjects belonging to any other group. Research studies conducted in the U.S.A. have generally found that students from middle classes have a higher 'n' Achievement level than those from the working class. But Mehta's study has shown a different trend. It has been found that sons of fathers having low education and those of father doing some kind of skilled or unskilled work appeared to show higher 'n' Achievement than those whose fathers has secondary education and whose fathers were petty shop-keepers. The subjects from the upper middle class (semi-professional occupations) were the highest and those from the working class (skilled and unskilled workers, the highest in 'n' Achievement. The boys from the upper class and the lower middle class (clerical occupations) took lower positions.

(b) **Studies by Educationists :** Among the scholars belonging to the field of education, the contributions of R.N. Agarwal[12], S.K. Das Gupta[13], M.C. Jayaswal and K.D. Kale[14], N.P. Pillai[15], R.C. Sharma[16], N.N. Shukla[17], K. Mullick[18], Ram Chandra[19] etc. are of much interest to us.

Agarwal studied inter caste tensions in 140 urban and rural children of the Agra region belonging to the age group of 9-10 years. It was found that the percentage of difference of acceptance in urban and rural children was 5, 3, 3, 8, 8, and 6 with regard to interdining, acceptance of food, neighbour-hood, playmate, class-mate and teacher respectively.

Das Gupta has studied the causes of teacher maladjustment and discussed in some of his articles how teacher maladjustment affects school children in India adversely.

Jayaswal and Kale conducted a socio-economic survey of the Gujrat University students in 1965. About 3,100 men students and 2,000 women students of all colleges affiliated to the Gujrat University were studied. It has been found that (i) the occupation of parents was the most important factor in the education of child ; income was the next one and caste was not so important factor, the association between education and occupation was higher in case of women then that of men ; and, (ii) among the families of both men and women students, the association between caste and occupation was the highest.

Pillai investigated into the organizational and administrative factors which affect the achievement of pupils in Secondary schools. A sample of 1408 High school students in Kerala were studied. It was reveled by the study that good instruction becomes more effective when the school had much facilities as good laboratory, library and other clubs etc., and similarly when the majority of the pupils come from an environment of poverty, results can not be improved with any good teaching and proper facilities in the school.

Sharma studied socio-economic factors influencing primary school enrolment. It was concluded by the author that in the village situations studied neither higher occupational status of the parents and guardians, nor their educational status seems to influence tangibly the school enrolment of children in the age group of 6-11.

Shukla conducted a psycho-cultural study of Hindu adolescent girls in Bombay and analyzed their socio-cultural background, attitudes and values.

A socio-economic survey of 100 refugees undergraduates in a suburb of Calcutta was conducted by A K. Mallick. It revealed the in securities and tensions which those students were experiencing and which were affecting their education at that time.

K.V. Ram Chandra and his associates have conducted a valuable survey of the conditions of health and socio-economic status of the school children in Bombay city. It is clear from the wealth of data presented in their respect that these factors are having a telling effect on the educational possibilities of the children.

Wastage and stagnation in education is an area in which some studies have been conducted by educationists and economists like D.R. Gadgil and V.M. Dandekar [20], R.S. Chitkara [21], D.V. Chikermane [22], P. Chowdhury [23], Veda Prakash [24], M. Jaya Raman [25], and R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra [26]. These studies have not taken into account all or even most of the socio-cultural determinants of wastage and stagnation in schools and their bias has been on economic and educational factors located within the schools. But even then some of the data presented by them is of some help to us in knowing some of the social determinants of educability in India.

(c) *Studies by Social Anthropologists*: A number of social anthropologists have shown their interest in studying the socio-cultural determinants of educability in different communities and groups. Among them the contributions of Gitel Steed [27], M.N. Srinivas [28], B.R. Chauhan [29], N. V. Bapat [30], P.C. Biswas [31], K.P. Chattopadhyaya [32], N.K. Das Gupta [33], S.C. Dube [34], Verrier Elwin [35], S.K. Kaul [36], L.K. Mahapatra [37], B.H. Mehta [38], K.C. Patil [39], L.M. Srikaot [40], P.K. Roy Burman [41], Sachidanand [42], T.N. Madan [43], Leigh Minturn and John T. Hitchcock [44] (a) and Leigh Minturn and William W. Lambert [44] (b) are of significance to us.

In a remarkable paper, Steed has analyzed the various psycho-cultural and sociological determinants of the personality formation of a Rajput named Inder Singh belonging to a Jagirdar family in Kaseodra, a Hindu village in Gojrat. She has shown how the death of Ioder Singh's father in his childhood, his pampered nurture in the house of his maternal uncle and his community's tolerence of his behaviour were responsible for his improper socialization and the mixture of positive as well as negative goals, sentiments, interests

and values in him. Such cultural studies, which throw a valuable light on the social determinants of educability, have unfortunately not been repeated in our country so far.

Srinivas has thrown valuable light on the problem of educability while discussing the concepts of westernization and *Sanskritization* which are the key-notes of most of his writings. Of special interest are some of his observations e.g., the traditionally dominant castes in villages are still trying to retain their traditional privileges without bothering about the fact that their doings would hinder the educability of other groups; actually they wish to do so as is exemplified by the behaviour of the *Sarpanch* of Rampura (Mysore) who preferred to have a bull-dozer rather than a school for his village, the lower castes are imitating the behaviour patterns of upper castes and their growing attraction for education these days is merely a part of their process of *sanskritization*, casteism, parochialism and the wide-spread minority consciousness in almost all communities are affecting education also in several ways, and the changed attitudes and values of our western educated elite are adversely affecting us in various ways. Srinivas has pointed out the socio-cultural and political prejudices which are hindering the development of scheduled castes, tribes and other backward people.

In a theoretical paper, B.R. Chauhan has drawn our attention to two types of difficulties experienced by the members of the scheduled castes (i) those arising out of their insignificant enrolment and (ii) those arising out of their traditionally lower social position. Of special interest to us are his observations that the scheduled caste parents..."looked upon young children as aids in the family economy. Sending a child to school meant an immediate fall in family income and a long term investment of a doubtful nature. The number of scheduled caste students who drop after the first two years of primary education is alarming. In some Gujrat villages, it has also been noticed that the proportionate increase in scheduled caste education has begun to slow down as a consequence of the rise in agricultural gains.....the spread of education among the scheduled castes may have the consequence of creating social classes among the scheduled castes on lines parallel to those obtaining in the upper society."

Bapat, Biswas, Chattopadhyaya, N. K. Das Gupta, Dube, Elwin, Mahapatre, Mehta, Patil, Srikant, Roy Burman, and several other have highlighted the various factors influencing the education of tribunal communities in India. Kaul has discussed the existing facilities, coverage, wastage and stagnation and utilization of financial assistance in respect of tribal education.

Sachidanand has discussed in details the special problems of the education of the scheduled tribes and has drawn our special attention to the dangers of detribalization caused by education.

Madan has theoretically discussed the problems of enculturation and education in tribal groups. In an empirical study, Madan and H.G. Halbar have found that caste and community considerations have greatly influenced the private and public education of Mysore State. In a recent paper based on that study, the authors conclude by saying that "the private education societies in Mysore State have been a most powerful progressive force wherever they have been active during the last hundred years or more. They have not only provided modern education in regions where government or local authority institutions were conspicuous by their small numbers of total absence, but they have also provided new areas for the operation of traditional, communal or sectarian organizations, bringing about a certain degree of "decompression" of these organizations in the process. In our view, modern curricula, modern methods of teaching, modern buildings and laboratories, well-trained teachers with Indian and foreign qualifications, and so forth, donot guarantee that traditional particularistic values and communal loyalties will not persist in such a seemingly uncongenial environment." These observations are based on the factual data collected in course of their study.

Minturn and Hitchcock studied the cultural factors associated with child-rearing practices and the interaction of mothers with their children in the Rajputs of Khalapur. Of special interest to us is their finding that:

"The Khalapur mothers are unusual in their lack of warmth in interaction with their children; this is accompanied in a lesser degree by emotional stability. We believe that this lack of emotional expressiveness is necessitated by the requirement of being

pinching lack of empirical studies relating to the great influence of administrators and decision-makers and their policies in colleges and universities on the educational possibilities of our students. S.P. Ruhela's study "Sociology of College Administration : A Self Assessment"[83] is perhaps the only available contribution in this direction. In some other papers also, he has discussed the various other social determinants of educability in India.

While some seminar and survey reports on college students' welfare programmes in India, published by the United State Educational Foundation in India[84] and the World University Service[85] are available which again high-light the insufficient measures to ameliorate the frustrating determinants of their educability, nobody has conducted any research study into the problems of adjustment faced by freshers and first-generation learners, the discriminatory and discouraging treatment which students belonging to scheduled castes, backward classes and minorities have to suffer, and the innumerable favours, prejudices and unjust belief and nets of many professors and educational administrators in colleges and universities which ultimately hinder the educability of our college youth in many ways. A great deal of frustration in students and researchers in universities and colleges caused by these factors has remained unstudied by sociologists. With virtually no control on the educational system and no communion or rapport established with the teachers, the parent is already a vanished entity. His concern is only to spend money compulsorily on the education of his ward, and whether the latter makes proper use of it or not he has virtually no say in it.

From the first day of their entry in the pre-university class to the last day of post-graduation or doctoral term, and in many cases even beyond that, the students in our country, by and large, tend to form friendship on the bases of caste, community, religion or region. It is not at all unusual to find in many hostels of our universities and colleges the muslim students studying together in one room, Ahir students studying together in another, Brahmin students still in another, Rajput or Jagirdar students in the fourth and the Bania's having their own informal association in another. The students belong to scheduled castes, tribes or minority communities like Muslims, Jews and Christians are generally reluctant to live in these hostels for fear of discrimination and the resultant humiliation

and discouragement they might have to bear in them. The memories of many of our colleagues and friends of their college hostel days bear testimony to the fact that the general atmosphere in most of these hostels, boys' hostels specially, is full of so much of frivolity, politics, caste and communal tensions, and unacademic pursuits that usually a majority of bright students are treated very scornfully and shabily. Most of them, sooner or later, leave these hostels and shift to rented rooms in the city for the sake of their studies.

A significant observation of the author about college students' behaviour during strikes over a period of five years in a college located in a town shows that while most of the students coming from middle class urban families are almost always politically active, the students coming from the rural areas usually retreat to their villages apathetically during the days of turmoil.

Lack of vision, insincerity, and proper planning on the part of many of our educational leaders and teachers, interference of political parties in the affairs of universities and colleges, and the increasing student unrest are responsible for creating a very unmotivating environment in our institutions of higher education for the students to study. Of the various scathing attacks made by educationists, leaders and social scientists on our higher education, the recent one made by Dr. Malcolom S. Adiseshiah, Deputy Director General, UNESCO, at a meeting at New Delhi on January 13, 1969 is perhaps the most appropriate. According to him, "Indian universities are becoming anti-intellectual bastions, somewhat like the vast, costly and inefficient factories turning out ersolz intellectuals. Their teaching methods are one-way, ex-cathedra pontificals. Their learning techniques are the rote techniques, the method of cramming, of imbibing as fast as possible bits and pieces of information and knowledge. The content of what is taught or learnt has no relation to the state of the arts, the country's development demands or its employment profiles......Its examination system does not evaluate the students' intellectual capacity. It is a huge and inhuman meat-grinder which separates and cuts up into meaningless groups, the false foods falling under their teeth. It is a call to resourceful deception or a display of superficial cleverness." He further observed

that the "anti-intellectual trends noticeable in all democracies —starting with the Athenian democray which condemned Socrates to the drink of hamlock and on to the democracies of today which assassiate their Gandhiji's, their Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther Kings—were coming home to roost in Indian democracy."[36]

Our dailies are full of startling news of the changing value patterns and the growing sense of responsibility in teachers as well as students in our colleges and universities, and the influences of casteism, communalism, economic and political exploitation rampant in our privately managed institutions of higher education. We have, however, little substantial research data to support various views and trends expressed in them. T.N. Madan's study of the influence of caste and community on education in the Mysore State[37], which has already been mentioned, and R.C. Prashad's almost similar study in Bihar[38] are perhaps the only two studies available in this direction. These studies bear out that casteism, favouritism and profiteering are very powerful forces influecing education development io the country. While caste and community considerations and financial support have encooraged the opening of innumerahle educational institutions in the country, it remains to be studied how their exploitative tendencies and their discriminatory treatment with students belonging to differ castes, communities and classes hinder their educability.

The mushroom growth of English media teaching shops called kindergarten, nursaries or public schools in urban areas all over the country has been criticised many times in the press for their exploitative and class-creating tendencies and un-Indian moorings, but we do not have any first-hand sociological data on their role in the curbing or promoting educability.

Recently, the Education Commission[39] has rightly laid emphasis on the concepts of neighbourhood aod common school system. Although some papers have been written on it, no research study has so far been attempted. Often one comes across some inspiring articles published in journals in defeoce of the common school system. A close observation of the pathetic lot of Municipal Corporation Schools in Delhi and State run schools in other parts of the country, which has so far not been subjected to sociological research, woold disillusion most of us.

Of late, the question of media of instruction has become a very burning problem in our country.

Inspite of some interesting papers by sociologists like Aileen D. Ross[90], D. Narain[91], Y.B. Damle[92], T.K. Oomen[93], S. L. Doshi[94], political scientists like S. P. Aiyer[95], Miss Dastur[96], and R. Bhaskaran[97], and educationists like D.D. Karve[98], V.V. John[99] etc., it really pinches us to find that the crucial problem has not been thoroughly examined and the sociologists in particular have taken the least serious interest in this most important field of study.

It is largely due to the apathetic attitudes of most of the Indian sociologists towards the lively problems of our school and college youth and their education and adjustment in the fast changing society of our's, that a number of small and non-serious articles written in journalistic vein by free-lancers like Chanchol Sarkar[100], Rahul Singh[101], Chandra Lekha Mehta[102], G. D. Khosla[103], and innumerable other like them are trying to fill the vacuum. If the attention of Indian sociologists is not drawn towards the social determinants of educability immediately and the same trend is allowed to continue, the education of the country shall deteriorate beyond respite. The nation can ill-afford to put up with this apathetic mood of its sociologists any longer.

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Social Determinants
of Educability

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1

Educability is an aspect of the quality of populations which is conditioned by the interplay of the different aspects of social structure.

Of course, it is at this point in the selection of the bibliography that we have encountered the greatest difficulty in making a practical delimitation of the field from the adjacent psychological and biological territories. Two boundaries are in question : first, the problem of the limits to educability set by genetic factors invites trespass into human genetics, neurology and brain physiology as well as some of the established fields of psychology ; and second, the point at which studies of the interaction between individuals and their environments pass from sociology to psychology, though it may be in itself a pedantic problem, sets a practical difficulty for the compiler of a bibliography. In fact, we have not hesitated to cross the boundaries where necessary in order to give coherence to the bibliography, though our inclusions from neighbouring fields have been chosen for their summarising and reviewing character ; for example, Anastasi's excellent survey of the state of knowledge concerning intelligence and family size.(23)

The fascinating problem of what educational possibilities exist in man is partly one of human genetics and, as such, lies outside the field, but some of the literature bearing upon it is sociological in

that variations in social structure exercise a powerful influence over the genetic composition of populations, and hence their innate educability (10)

Scientific study of the nurture—nature problem goes back to Galton's researches at the end of the nineteenth century into the genetic factor in intelligence. A review of subsequent work could be partly a story of progress in the refinement of both conceptualization and method, but also partly an essay in ideological history with close parallels in the movement of attitudes towards the educability of different social groups. Racialism in Germany, liberalism in America* and egalitarianism in England have all left their mark on the record, and still actively inspire work on heredity and environment in relation to education. Most of these studies have been focussed on twins and foster children with results which were surveyed and evaluated by Woodworth (22) for the period upto 1941, and which have been further strengthened without major modification by more recent investigation. (15)

These researches fall into two broad categories. First, there are those which, using correlational techniques, have studied the degree of resemblance between parents, children and siblings in respect of a variety of physical and mental characteristics (3, 6, 12, 14). Sufficient evidence has now accumulated from such studies to leave no doubt that resemblance is greater than closer the blood tie. A second line of enquiry, which brings us closer to studies in the sociology of educability, has been concerned with the impact of various environments on the mean level of measured intelligence of groups exposed to them. Among the best examples in this category are the follow-up study of foster children by Skodak and Skeels (90) and the work on the effect of school environment on later years by S. Smith (16) and Lorge (13). These studies are relevent to the larger question of identifying and evaluating those aspects of environment which affect educability. As regards the problem of

*See Myrdal, G., *An American Dilemma.* New York, 1944, pp. 1027-1064, and Fontaine, W.T., "Social Determination in the Writings of Negro Scholars" *Am. J. Sociol*, 1944, 49, 302-315. Both are quoted by Merton, R.K., in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1958. p. 345.

the genetic factor in intelligence, they show that exposure to a favourable environment will raise the level of measured intelligence and exposure to an unfavourable environment will have the opposite effect. (93)

The conclusions of these two lines of enquiry are not, of course, necessarily inconsistent. There is, however, an unresolved controversy as to the fraction of variation in intelligence which is heritable. Estimates of this vary up to 75 percent and Burt and Howard (5) have recently claimed as much as 88 percent. It should not be, though it often is, conceived of as a fixed ratio. The fact that societies evolve socially and educationally implies widening of environmental possibilities, and therefore of variation in the *interactional effects* of nature and nurture on educability.

While this fundamental question remains largely unexplored, the problem of the social distribution of intelligence must remain somewhat ambiguous. As studies have multiplied of differences in the average measured intelligence of social, ethnic or social-class groups, the trend of opinion has been away from the view that they are explicable in genetic terms, and especially from the view, held by Galton, that negroes are on the average innately inferior to whites ; although it seems that (outside South Africa at least) the resistance to this trend of opinion is greatest in the case of social class differences.*

The issue is far from final solution. The extent to which the social distribution of measured intelligence accurately reflects the social distribution of innate capabilities continues to excite controversy, but a major obstacle to any solution of the problem is our ignorance of the relations between genetically determined intelligence and fertility and social mobility.

This obstacle can hardly be overcome so long as it remains impossible to measure innate intelligence. Intelligence tests for this purpose are under a cloud ; even on the most optimistic assessment of their accuracy, that is, however small the fraction of variation in

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*This trend of opinion, it should be noted, does nothing to alter the fact that differences in innate intelligence between groups *may be created* by social factors such as educational selection, selective mating and migration, etc.

measured intelligence which is attributed to environment—the margin of error would seem to be too wide for the purposes of educational and occupational selection ; that is to say, as indicators of educability, but a stringent critique of the rationale and practice of intelligence testing has developed, especially in the United States under the stimulus of work on social class, racial and ethnic sub-cultures (43,44). These criticisms stress the influence of motivation on test performance and the fact that, for test purposes, intelligence tends to be defined in terms of the demand of a given type of educational system. Not all psychologists are prepared to accept the radical interferences drawn from this work, but realization of the intrusion of non-genetic factors in test performances goes back to Binet himself, who fully recognized the difficulty, but could find no solution to it.

Thus, it would seem that attack on the problem of heredity and environment in relation to education must be indirect for both psychologists and sociologists ; and, infact, the general tendency among sociologists in recent years has been to by-pass the problem of genetic limits to educability and to concentrate upon the strand in the tradition of work which has concerned itself with environmental influences on educational performance, whether measured by standard tests of "intelligence" and attainment or by other criteria, such as teachers' assessment, length of school life or performance in public examinations.

It was, in fact, a psychologist, Cyril Burt, who carried out some of the earliest and best sociological work on the influence of the social environment on educability (35) ; and, in general, psychologists have perhaps been somewhat more successful that sociologists to come to grips with the scientific problem. Despite the confusion engendered by their attempts to measure innate intelligence and the proneness they share with sociologists to draw un-sound inferences from their work, the fact remains that they have improved on the educational criteria by the development of standardized tests of aptitude and attainment, and thus have made it possible to relate studies of environmental influence to more precisely defined degrees of talent or backwardness. And they have been

mentally responsible for the systematic accumulations of knowledge of the relation to educational performance of two major aspects of social environment ; namely, socio-economic status and family size. The principal contribution of the sociologists has been, and remains, to define and extend the notion of "social environment" ; but it should be emphasized that the division of labour between sociologists and psychologists is necessarily unclear in this work, and that is still further blurred with every step forward that is made.

English and American sociologists have a long-standing interest in the educability of different social and racial groups. Local social surveys in England have almost always included an account of the association of poverty, malnutrition and squalid housing with restricted educational facilities, backwardness and poor scholastic level generally (36,37). In America, the findings of the mental surveys of army recruits in the First World War stimulated widespread interest in the problem (1, 2), and apart from general social surveys there is strong tradition of investigation into the educative influence of street groups, peer groups and other informal social groupings.

In Germany, before the last war, attention to the problem was much more clearly focussed than in England and America even to the extent of giving a name (*Milieu Kunde*) to the systematic study of its various aspects. The symposium edited by A. Busemann (6, 7) includes contributions from psychologists, psychometricians and sociologists of the family and of urban and rural life as well as a comprehensive discussion of the field of work by Busemann himself.

However, in so far as they have treated the problem directly, few sociologists, whatever their ideological preconceptions, have been able to resist the temptation to throw backward glances at the nature-nurture controversy, with the result that the issues have generally been badly formulated, and the inferences drawn from their work logically unsound.

In principal, the sociologists task is clear : it is to analyse the social factors which influence the educational process from two main sources. There are those, on the one hand, deriving from the family environment and general background of teachers and pupils (and

in case of teachers, also from their professional needs and habits), and on the other hand, there are those deriving from the social organization, formal and informal, of schools, colleges and universities. In practice, the educability of an individual, given his personal endowment, and unique life-history, is a function of the interaction of all these social factors; that is to say, it represents his socially determined capacity to respond to the demands of the particular educational arrangements to which he is exposed.

The explicit and implicit demands made on children and young people by the schools and universities they attend is part of the sociology of educational institutions which is discussed below. We need to do no more here than point out that it is as yet poorly developed, and that although the selective function of these institutions has been established and is well-documented through studies, in particular, of wastage at the secondary level ("early-learning" and "drop-out"), much work remains to be done on the nature of the selective process of which these phenomena are merely the end products or indices.

The emphasis on the contributions of family environment ("home background") to this wastage tends to be one-sided. The child may come to school ill-equipped for or hostile to learning under any educational arrangement; but for the most part his educability depends as much on the assumptions, values and aims embodied in the school organization into which he is supposed to assimilate himself as on those he brings with him from his home.

That the *interaction* of homes and schools is the key to educability has always been evident to anthropologists (if not missionaries) in cases where the gulf between them is wide, as when formal education is introduced into the tribal life of preliterate peoples; and although detailed studies of culture-contact and social change through education are rare, anthropological influence on the study of social factors in educability has been important in broadening conceptions of environmental possibilities. It can be traced in the studies of the American negro from which stemmed, until recently, the most illuminating works on social-class differences in the drive towards educational success. Moreover, the most promising penetration of social-class factors in educability has come from

attempts made by Allison Davis and his associates to analyse child-rearing practices from the point of view of their adaptive value in a competitive "middle-class" social system (43, 48) ; and in the study of ethnicity, and educability anthropological influence has transformed studies of motivational elements in the family background of American Jews and Italians. (23)

Horizons have thus been extended by this work ; it has given the notion of "environment" a new range and depth and induced a greater stress on motivational and institutional factors in the learning situation. It is increasingly recognized that the educability of different social and ethnic groups is a function not only of their postulated innate capacities frustrated or encouraged by their material environment, but also of culturally conditioned attainments, attitudes and aspirations and of the ethos of the educational institutions to which they have access.

Attempts have been made to unravel the differences in social environment which underlie indices of class or status and their relevence for education., Generally speaking, the emphasis in this work is shifting from the study of gross material factors, such as poverty or malnutrition or over-crowding, to more subtle factors of background affecting response both to learning in general and to particular kind of schooling. The work at Chicago on social-class differences in the experiences of early childhood and their influence upon learning has already been mentioned. There is some tradition of work on linguistic development (bilingualism) (59, 60) and educational backwardness in relation to class and ethnicity ; and some intriguing suggestions have been recently put forward by Bernstein (25) for research into class differences in the use of language. At a more superficial level, class-related elements of environment such as parents, attitudes towards their children's education and future occupation, the mother's educational level, or her occupation before marriage, have been shown to be more highly correlated with measured intelligence and school performance than others such as income or the social grading of the father's occupation.

Interest io problems of social mobility through education under conditions of general material prosperity in post-war England aod America has stimulated investigation of family background and its iofluence on educational performance, holding social class constant. Some of the British research suggests that within social class groups size ot family is an index of differences in social environment raoging from gross differences io material prosperity, through differeoces io attitudes to schooling and vocational aspirations, to very subtle differences in linguistic habit and development and emotional training. How far is it merely ao index, under certaio social circumstances (for example, when not directed by religious principle), of a complex of educationally relevent attitudes aod values on the part of parents, and how far it may be treated as a casual factor in the sense of itself producing an educationally favourable or unfavourable environment from ehildren needs further investigation. Comparative studies are needed of family environment in groups of varying social class, ethnic and religious composition; and io this work of studying in detail the wide range of family attitudes and practices on which children and youog people draw in responding to school, college or university, not ooly psychologists and sociologists but antbropologists, too, have a part to play.

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Some Psychological Factors Underlying Educability

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2

Meaning of Educability

The concept of educability obviously refers to the possibilities of measuring the latent potentialities of an individual and also the use of the methods and conditions that are necessary in unfolding and developing those abilities. Hence the term educability is too broad to include the concept of ability which may be interpreted differently. The different meanings attached to the term ability are generally related to two measures. First, the learner's ability may be manifest through his performances in certain learning situations or other practical situations. These are the overt measures or measures of achievement. The overt measures have their correlates which can be explained in terms of certain mental functions or abilities. The latent measures refer to an operational approach towards understanding the concept of ability.

In his attempt to understand the abstract nature of the latent abilities or functions, one takes recourse to certain constructs or postulates which are often exemplified in the usage of different terms coined in dealing with certain traits of personality. The postulational variables become a necessary part to conceptualise and correlate the two ends of the covert-overt-ability continuum.

The ability of an individual has also been interpreted by many as the process that is oriented by organismic as well as environmental variables. Thus the problem of nature and nurture is

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directly involved in the study of ability and educability of a person. Ability has, further, been interpreted by G.A. Ferguson as a factor-score which can be obtained by factor analysis. He remarks, 'A factor-score also implies a latent factor variable, since both the weights and the separate performance measures which determine it are in practice subject to error. The term factor, as distinct from factor score, usually connotes the latent variable. I consider the concept of ability as a factor score to be essentially operational, since it is a determined function of operationally determined varient values,'[1].

Apart from including the intellectual ability, educability also involves the important concept of transfer of training or learning.

Role of Readiness and Functional Organization.

Knowing well that educability refers to a comprehensive developmental process depending on varieties of conditions or factors underlying its longitudinal and horizontal dimensions, the author presents the following example to indicate the role of readiness, attitude and functional organization of previous learning in educability related to certain learning situation.

A Case Study.

The observation was particularly focussed on the role of the factors of 'Appropriate Readiness' and 'Over-mature Readiness' in the educability of two sons of a person who worked as a Civil Overseer for about fifteen years and retired from service after working as an Executive Engineer for about ten years. He belonged to the middle socio-economic class. The economic condition of the family was ordinary. There was no ancestoral property. There were no sources.

Excepting the negligible difference of two years in age, his first and second sons were matched on intelligence and socio-economic condition. Their respective I.Bs (Index of Brightness) measured by Mohsin's Bihar Test of Intelligence were 103 and 100 when they were at the 10th grade ; their respective scores on Alexander Pass-along Test were 72 and 68 ; they were reared in the same home

environment. They resembled with one another to a considerable extent in physic, motor development, social and emotional adaptation at their school-stage.

A major variable that could influence their mind or attitude was that their father expressed his desire, off and on, that he liked this first son to run a shop after passing his matriculation examination. He used to express his strong desire to make him well established at the early phase of his life, without much of schooling or higher education. He preached all along that there was no practical use of regular formal schooling these days for the 'average student' and it was far better to earn money earlier in life than to waste time in formal schooling, in an attempt to get an employment. He denounced the tendency of many students of average merit for obtaining degrees or diplomas through attending academic courses.

The mother of the sons, while accepting her husband's proposal for the future career of the first son, had quite different plan regarding the education of the second son. She liked that the second son should continue his education in a technical institution to obtain diploma in Mechanical Engineering and to take up a profession in future on the basis of his scholastic achievements. Her husband gave full consent to her ideas as he did not get any opposition in his plan about the first son's future career. Except this difference in attitude toward schooling, both the parents were equally sympathetic and affectionate to them.

CONCLUSION

The modern concept of educability invariably includes the concept of transfer. It is the task of trained educators, psychologists and sociologists, to a great extent, and of economists and social anthropologists, to some extent, to measure the possible dimensions of a pupil's educability covering his latent abilities, performances or attainments, attitudes, interests and other related or relevant personality variables as well as the role of socio-economic or cultural conditions in this developmental process. In practical situations, it seems difficult to accept the saying of Thorndike that 'In general no body under for-tyfive should restrain himself from

trying to learn anything because **of a belief** or a fear that he is too old to be able to learn it nor he should use that fear as an excuse for not learning anything **which he ought** to learn. If he fails in learning it, inability due directly to age will very rarely, if ever, be the reason... We can learn nearly as well when young as when older ! '

As a matter of fact an average individual finds it difficult to put himself to regular educational process when he comes to do that with an over-mature readiness and his peculiar self-image and a defensive attitude. 'Readiness emerges longitudioally as children and youth develp from birth to maturity.' [2]

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Education and Society in India

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I

Education serves a society by socialising its children. It aims at preparing the youths to absorb the social values, beliefs and norms of the society and render them fit to participate in the activities of the society. To achieve these objectives, children should be provided with tools. If learning should be effective, one should know emphatically the use of these tools, namely how to read, write, spell and master what is read. They should have competence in these areas. Mastery over them can be obtained through repetition and practice also. Education thus involves acquisition of additional and suitable tools also. Facts and their interrelationships, and vocabularies in describing clearly the phenomena are also of importance in imparting instruction to its pupils, and making them effectively participate in the affairs of society. Sound learning demands the possession of a body of demonstrable facts which can be retained for long. But there is the danger of forgetting the facts if they are not used in relation to other facts. Education, hence, aims at the retention as well as the effective use of these facts and instills in the learner a love for the scientific spirit while dealing with any relevant subject matter.

There are several problems of life, and education helps to meet them boldly and cautiously. For a satisfactory living, the maintenance of physical well-being is essential for each individual. Education aims at educating the individual in the laws of health and the habits of wholesome living. Recognising the fact to conserve our bodies is a vital duty and upon it depends the pleasures of living. This is one of the vital lessons that educational institutions can help youth to learn. Education also provides opportunities to

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decide upon suitable vocational goals. There are special institutions which give instruction in certain vocations and make them to face their future economic problems. It provides excellent opportunities to sink egoistic ideals and prepares them to appreciate altruistic tendencies in youths. The youths are trained to get on well along with others at home, in school and in the community. The schools have undertaken this responsibility effectively. Developing ethical standards and maintaining right social relations can be taught right in the school. These ideas can also be demonstrated in "many groups" and organizational relationships in which the youths are involved.

Education prepares the youths to become responsible citizens. Young people will be trained to accept the re-sponsibilities that social institutions demand since educational institutions bear the marks of the community in which they operate and transmit these marks to youths. In many societies ideals are high and educational institutions help the students to maintain them. Very often these institutions exert tremendous influence on the young minds and try to improve the high ideals of society. They even try to re-inforce behaviour which supports high standards. Thus education always aims at performing the function of promoting high ethical standards.

II

Education should be considered as a multisplendoured thing and not as a narrow path to reach a specific goal. This concept of education is more important in recent years since teachers, educational authorities and the public opinion had for a long time tended to interpret education narrowly. Such narrow opinion had tended to look upon educational institutions as concerned only with mechanical instruction and production of persons who may mechanically enter certain professions after passing the prescribed examinations. With these objectives, in many parts of the world the child was instructed to memorise without understanding anything it read. In both the West and the East, early education had not taken into serious consideration the many-faceted personality development of the child. It did not include arts and crafts and instruction in social life but confined mainly to teaching languages, and introduction of sophisticated disciplines. Thus academic education had often failed in its attempt to create an impression in the mind of its pupils, necessary for the development of personali

Later, to broaden the scope of education new patterns were introduced into the curriculum, which included games, handwork, laboratory practice which induced the students to self-expressional activities. This was a healthy development and welcome. Teachers evinced a great enthusiasm to this progressive education. But this type of education also could not provide sufficient opportunities for the development of the personality of the pupils owing to several handicaps in the successful implementation of these schemes. The inadequacy of the teacher's educational and professional training, their financial returns, the lack of books, question of place for the institutions buildings etc., have greatly hampered the ideals of the progressive education, resulting in the fall of educational standards.

The rapid expansion of educational system under the pressure of democratic ideals is the main reason for the non-realisation of the objectives of "progressive education". In India this expansion has been done in the form of the spread of primary education quickly bringing large number of children into schools as early as possible. In England this has taken the form of putting pupils into secondary schools till the age of sixteen years. In U.S.A. this has taken a different form namely to pass as many students as possible through the junior college. In almost all the underdeveloped countries this has taken more or less one or the same pattern. This has been largely the result of democratic ideas, as a result of which standards of education inevitably suffer, and this is the situation that exists at present in many parts of the world. Educationists and educational administrators are puzzled to witness such a crisis in education and its policies.

In the materially advanced countries, their financial resources have been spent largely on the expansion of educational institutions, quite often without improving the educational quality. U.S.A. is one of the standing examples of this type of educational system. In almost all countries of the world these problems of the loss of quality exist in varying degrees. Prominent educationists have criticised this trend in education and its development. They have advocated for the quality of education, to improve the capacity of teachers, to adopt creative methods of teaching, instructing smaller classes,

which sharpens the mind and prepare it for intellectual progress will be undermined and ultimately leads to deterioration of intellect. Intellectual enthusiasm and sensitiveness to intellectual values will diminish. The teacher has to play a significant role in this sphere. He should inspire the students for intellectual pursuits. But owing to adverse circumstances in society, few ideas and adventures repel and frighten the teachers, resulting in the suppression of creative ideas which are the special concerns of educational institutions.

Liberal education in society should gain more importance from practical and utilitarian point of view. It is important because it liberates mind and enables men to deal with problems of life more efficiently. High standard liberal education is the only one worthy of free men or of those who struggle hard to free themselves from slavery. It awakens men for political and social equality. It prepares men for creative work, and to face the challenges of life. One can acquire this capacity through strenuous intellectual discipline in the colleges and the schools. After the career in the schools and colleges he could enter the wider world with determination and at the same time with confidence and face confidently the problems of life. Several fields of knowledge which he has learnt in the schools and colleges should have their own special value and insight in the day to day life of the individual. Thus the high thoughts and intellectual pursuits that he has learnt in the educational institutions should be useful practically in day to day life in society.

Attempts of indoctrination in the higher educational institutions will have their own dangerous consequences. It obstructs free thinking, arrests the creative consciousness and blurs the intellectual capacity so essential to play his role in society. It indirectly paves the way for the lack of creative ability that is expected of these institutions and makes them incapable to play their role in national development. These institutions of learning are expected to understand the nature of the society and should impart such instruction necessary to fit the individual to the pattern expected of the society, provided that they are rightly conceived, which are conducive to and at the same time which could serve the long felt needs of the society. If the seats of learning compromise

with lower objectives of the society, whatever their practical and useful objectives are, they will never be good for the society. In such circumstances institutions of learning would serve themselves as obstacles to the growth and development of a desirable and useful society.

Other important dangers that serve as obstacles in the realization of the objectives of education and its ideals are the lack of integrity, mental laziness arising out of wrong methods of instruction having no passion for excellence and no inclination for earnest work. These are real problems facing many educational institutions. But the values that are missing can only be achieved by a deep love for knowledge, without which there is no compelling motive for high achievement. This is a serious problem facing the educationists to transform the institutions of learning into useful instruments for serving the social purposes. They should look at them with deepening appreciation and utilise them as media for creative engagement of the mind. These would prepare the taught to express their thoughts fluently, freely, efficiently and converse with their followmen with grace, which are the easy methods to play their role efficiently in society.

Thus intellectual values are to be aimed at in the educational centres, and hence they should not become mere centres for passing examinations. Intellectual values are the only things that matter much and the remaining sink into insignificance. Further in the name of intellectual pursuit there is a tendency to bifurcate teaching and research. The researcher does his work, gets knowledge deeper, but very often remains secluded. This tendency should be discouraged. Teaching and research should be as far as possible associated. The researcher should be given ample opportunity to express his deep thoughts to the pupils so that they should be benefitted by it. These persons who are in research predominantly should guard themselves against the danger of becoming too narrow.

There are two major trends noticed in educational institutions. One is just preparing the students for purpose of merely getting through the examinations, which involves the omissions of important items from study essential for the cultivation of the mind.

This process of tabloid learning is unhealthy and ineffective as far as intellectual achievement is concerned. The other trend is preparing the students for competitive examinations for public service, which should not rightly be the purpose of higher educational institutions. These coaching institutions likely to undermine educational ideals and thus defeat the objectives of education. These two trends are motivated by economic considerations, and these considerations hamper intellectual pursuits of high order and reduce the capacity of youths to fight against many of the social and economic evils that they have to face in their future life.

Centres of higher learning should aim at building up of efficiency, and the foundation for it must be laid deep so that efficiency must not be interpreted narrowly. Students must be instructed to have a wider context of knowledge and at the same time the needs of their life as a whole. Humanistic approach in educational instruction will have a great significance since it creates a sense of belonging among the teacher and the taught, equip people for a better adjustment to family life, prepares men to appreciate culture, and makes them to learn the destructive ways of conflict and helps them to realise the importance of mutual sharing and understanding in society.

III

It is a well established factor that the efficiency of a system of education depends inevitably on the quality of teachers. Without good teachers even the best system of education suffers. The defects of even the bad system of education could be overcome by good teachers. It is, therefore, scholars advocate that the best men and women should be attracted to the profession. It is necessary to give them the best training and to retain them in the profession by increasing their efficiency. Conditions necessary to keep them contended should be created so that they should remain in them throughout their professional life.

It is often stated that the teacher determines the quality of education. Hence, he has to play significant role in society, because it is he who shapes the individuals, and the quality of a society depends upon the quality of individuals. Since the individual is largely the product of training he receives, the teacher who is the architect of such individual plays a decisive role in society.

There have been a variety of images of the school teacher io society. There was once, the image of the school master supervising over perspiring pupils, rod in hand. There have been the images of humourless person, a strict disciplinarian, absent-minded persoo, social reformer and a saintly person. The images of a teacher as a revered person, self-sacrificiog idealist, sympathetic adviser and lover of honesty are complementary. Whatever the positive and negative images that society has, teachers have been respected from times immemorial, when feared, also regarded; when ridiculed, also revered and beloved. When the society has increased in its complexity, so also images of teachers iocreased in variety. As teachers have become heterogenous groups of people these stereotypes about teachers are being broken down. Therefore it has become difficult to generalise the image of teachers.

Since teacher is an educated person and since he possesses certain skills which other do not, useful in conducting the affairs of society teachers have been in great demand for a number of professions especially in the west. They are in great demand for service in Sunday schools, working in the Red Cross and a number of welfare organisations doing the community service. But these professions command lesser prestige. Moreover teaching professioo as such in ranking does not compare favourably with other occupatioos which have more economic returns. Heoce they enjoy a different status from other professional persons aod are expected to play their role differently. In these circumstances teachers have never tended to participate less frequently io prestigeous community activities and seldom occupy positions of community leadership.

There is a social expectation in many societies that the teachers should be "left aloof" in the community. He is considered even in modern times as a persoo who is io, and not of, the community. This situation is the result of various factors. One of the factors is that teachers as a group are regarded as torch-bearers of culture, and hence are to be kept out of other activities of life. The other factor is the prevailing opinion that if the teacher is not invol-ved too much in local problems of the society and if he is not well acquainted with the families of his pupils, he would deliver the best goods to his pupils. Yet another opinioo is, since he is an idealist

and a social reformer if he is indentified too much with the local community his effectiveness as an idealist would be diminished. Another factor is, traditionally teachers are a transient group. They move from one community to another in search of new experience and better salaries or even better working conditions. This transiency is true of teachers in urban communities than in small rural communities. And in most parts of the world this view manifests itself in different forms. There are several societies in which young teachers are advised to move out of the local communities and not to return to their home communities to teach and such instances reaffirm the ideas stated above, and contribute much for the social isolation of teachers. But today owing to changing scenes in society as a result of various factors, the teacher's position has also undergone modification, and change is also noticed in the roles he has to play in society.

There are a number of sub-roles that the teacher is expected to play in the community. It is argued that the teacher should be the fountain head of morality and knowledge. Parents expect the teachers to be better model of behaviour for the children. Although parents practise bad habits such as drinking, smoking and gambling, they expect the teacher to avoid such practices which their children would possibly immitate. Consequently the teacher is expected to practise correct speech, good manners, modesty, prudence, honesty, responsibility, friendliness and so on, which are the personal virtues of the middle class. He is further expected to be a pioneer in the world of ideas, and in formulating the values and ideals of society. Moreover they are expected to be experts in regard to children, and the subjects which they teach. They are further expected to maintain good character. But one can notice that there are contradictions in the sub-roles that teacher is expected to play, and hence role-conflicts are inevitable among the teachers. One of the major factors of role-conflicts is the socio-economic conditions. When the teachers get low salaries, it is difficult, and at times impossible to play these roles and maintain standards of taste for the pupils. The second is the citizen-role, regarding their public and private conduct i.e. teachers are expected to play their role more vigorously in professions of lesser prestige and low-economic returns than their

neighbours. The third factor is the role of expert. Although he is expected to be an expert, his expert knowledge will be superseeded by the community groups which often dictate class room content and procedures that are at times contrary to his expert knowledge. These role-conflicts have made the teacher frustrated.

As a result of these contradictions, there is a tendency to disregard the teaching profession. Professions tend to be judged in terms of money and power. A disproportionate emphasis is placed on monetary standards. It is regarded that teaching profession is the noblest but the poorest as far as the emoluments are concerned, which forces teachers to become discontented. It is really a matter of very grave concern if these conditions remain without being tackled by the society. Ill-paid and dissatisfied teachers and their miserable status will have their own repurcussions. The consequences that follow out of such a situation are unimaginable.

Added to this there is also a tendency that the teacher is loosing his prestige. This loss of prestige of a teacher is due to various forces over which he has no control. The attitudes of society to professions and the change in the social valuations of such professions have themselves affected his attitude to his profession. Consequently he has developed a liking to certain methods by which he could fight his poverty stricken conditions, and enhance his prestige and rank in society. Poverty on the one hand and social neglect on the other have greatly aggravated this situation, and driven the teachers to politicians and the power elite for help in order to improve his position in the school and in society. When once teacher resorts to this kind of activity of approaching the politician and administrator for help in order to enhance his own status and prestig in his profession, there is every possibility of undermining his professional ideal which indirectly influences his action which by itself would contribute to the low status of his profession that society accords. Teachers cannot be blamed for this, because social situations demand of him such actions.

Added to this, there is the problem of the recruitment policy of the teachers. The administrator, the politician including teachers who serve as experts in "selection committees" try to manipulate and influence recruitment of teachers. The teacher's cliques favour in

recruitment their own friends ,own students, or their own candidates based on linguistic, regional, religious or caste affiliation. The administrator and the politician will have their own narrow interests in these policies. In such circumstances, the really deserving will be left behind or would be assigned inferior position and the mediocre will top the list and they monopolise and decide educational policies.

It is desirable always that people who pursue certain professions should have a genuine desire to do so. Then only one could expect efficiency in the profession. Determination to continue in a particular profession inspite of serious disadvantages, will have the way to attain mastery over it. It is especially so in the teaching profession. But today many people come to the teaching profession without any vocation. Many who are rejected in other professions take up to this profession in large number. The one to suppliment her husband's income, the one who obtained low grades in the examinations, the one who faces the tortures of unemployment for a long time, the teacher politician, the physically handicapped, the lazy, the disappointed, the frustrated and the socially disadvantaged come to the teaching profession in large numbers. They crowd the professions, since they cannot be entertained anywhere. One can imagine the danger awaiting for the future, since these persons are expected to decide the destiny of millions of youths. As long as these situations continue, teaching profession cannot command high respect it deserves.

The Social Context of Educational Planning

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Introduction

Difficulties in educational planning result in large part from exaggerated expectations of what schools can be expected to contribute to national development. High expectations for social benefits from formal education have some common social and intellectual roots with the ideology of formal social planning and reliance upon planning as a technique for social engineering. The expectations persist because too little attention is paid to the many ways in which schools are connected with the other institutional structures in actual societies. Much the same criticism of educational planning results, moreover, from a rigorous scrutiny on economic grounds of the manpower aspects of education.

In this very brief discussion of some of the sociological limitations on educational planning, conclusions based on more complete analyses are set down briefly and with few supporting illustrations.

Seven topics have been singled out for emphasis :
1. Ambiguities in the conceptualization of educational planning.
2. The multifunctionality of formal education.
3. Effective training for occupational goals.
4. Socio-political constraints on educational planning.
5. Issues of equity and quality.
6. Schools as instruments for value reorientation.
7. The social context of education determines its effect.

Ambiguities io tbe conceptualization of edncational plaoning

The following definition of planning (marking off the logically distioct aspects) is borrowed from Dror : 'The process of preparing a set of decisioos / for action in the future / directed at achieving goals...'[1]

There are certain key elements in this or related definitions : (a) tbere is orieotation tn the future ; (b) the focus is on action (rather thao, for example, on acquiring knowledge) ; (c) in that something is being designed, there is deliberative endeavour ; by implication, (d) there is interdependence among a set of interlocked decisions ; aod (e) within tbis bounded realm of decision, consistency is sougbt among the elements ; finally (f) there is, ioescapably, a need to allocate scarce resources among various possible combinations of actions (i.e., costs are always involved).

Plaoning can be thorough and astute even though implementation of the plans is very poorly done. Obviously a competent planner will allow for probable inefficiencies or tardiness by the ageneies responsible for implementation ; a plan made without considering sueb probabilities would hardly deserve tbe name. Yet io regard implementation as integral with planning confuses the latter with tbe operation of the educational system. Accordingly, the search for criteria of decision and for congruence among tbe action-oriented decision factors should be emphasized. Planniog is not writing recipes for specific actions. Implicitly, then, one ambiguity has already been stated : confusion of planing with implementation. Certain others will be mentioned briefly, for they are discussed later.

There can be incompatibility between fitting the outputs of schools to manpower aims and striving for social benefits from schooling when both aims are to be embraced within nne integral plan—especially when it is also to form part of a more comprehensive plan. One can view educational planning as a component of general economic planning or educatinn can be taken as a separate focus of planning, and in the latter case the goals can be as manifold as the functions education is expected to perform. As should be apparent, one cannot arrange an educational plan for social ends that would also be fitted neatly tn such quantitatively elaborated targets as those of manpower planning.

A third ambiguity arises out of the multifunctional character of education. Though many would have schools prepare people for certain specific tasks (as embodied in occupational skills), schools will and must bring about many other kinds of changes in pupils, such as building flexibility in responding to new opportunities. Sometimes an effort is made to escape this dilemma by restricting educational planning to setting outputs by levels only (so many secondary graduates) with only the broadest of specialities on each level. But while this view of the problem may actually lead to the ultimate productivity goals of the planners, it is not consistent with specific schedules of skills to meet manpower targets.

Once definite manpower expectations for a nation's school system are set aside there is a tendency to talk in very broad terms. Thus schools are expected to be adapted to the local society, yet to transform that society into a more developed one. Schools, like other agencies in the society, however, will foster (or at least not uproot) many undesired characteristics in their products ; for example, schools encourage individuals to escape from the drudgery of farming and of mental labour—whether or not there are jobs for them. A society must put up with many such undesired outcomes once it puts its faith in formal education, and neither indoctrination of pupils nor manipulation of curricula will dramatically change those outcomes. National leaders hope that modernization will be accompanied by an increase in the proportion of citizens who know how to adapt to new conditions. Schools alone cannot create that kind of men unless other social policies create opportunities and incentives for many individuals to plan for themselves within the broad frame-work of national goals. But such goals for schools are too broad to be aligned with definite manpower plans ; it is virtually impossible for such plans to be converted into specific requirements for schools or courses of study.

One cannot derive definite educational programmes from a set of economic aims for a nation. Only in very broad terms is the adapting of schooling to forecasted jobs the task of the educational system. That responsibility, rather, lies with the employing agencies. It is easier to work out new ways of combining diverse skills, or

skills with material resources, than to repeatedly reconstruct a school system. In broad terms one can specify more science, less language, and so on. In actuality, most statements of national needs for this or that kind of skill are highly unreliable and misleading as regards their implications for specific educational programmes. Moreover, most translations of such needs into specific school plans entail inconsistent specifications for the work of pupils. But even if school work could be more closely tailored to economic specifications, nations would be disappointed because the creation as well as the utilization of human resources depends upon 'know—how' a quality little fostered in even the best school systems.

The multifunctionality of formal education

In many discussions, even when not in mathematical terms, education is treated as a parameter in an abstract equation. The more common practice, of course, is to narrow education to man-power terms—with a polite bow to its social result. One can have only compassion for leaders of new nations who seek desperately to break the vicious circle of poverty ; much of the oversimplification in expectations about education stems from anxiety to obtain rapid development. Looking at real pupils in actual class-rooms we get a more heartening but also a more chastening conception of what schools can do for pupils. Educational planning will remain imprecise just because economic statistics 'capture' few of the capabilities that youth acquire from school. Yet, however, indirectly, each of the following functions of schools contributes to economic development.

1. Schools always do play some part in preparing individuals to earn a living and to participate in an evolving occupational structure. They do more to identify who will be eligible for particular occupations than to give specialized preparation for performing in them. General education is the principle preparation for employment, mainly through equipping individuals to absorb specific training.

2. Everywhere schools help introduce the child to his society's culture and they widen his participation from local to national bounds. Most important among these common features—and of

increasing importance as technological advance becomes a salient national purpose—are the local variants of the three R's. In much of the world today children must learn new language and number systems and science for which there is no precedent in their parents' lives. These competencies are as important for knitting a society into a polity as in readying individuals for mechanized production or for accepting the cues to new behaviour mediated by print. In the process schools always indoctrinate pupils, but more important is their widening of children's comprehension of novel situations. Indoctrination may include specific political ideologies, but even the least tendentious stories supply new views.

3. Schools also create individuality. They set the person apart in some or many respects from the culture of most of his fellow citizens. The child learns to explore new world imaginatively and to think about and react to new situations and objects. In this process he acquires new loyalties to various groups and ideals. He becomes acquainted with new human models with which to identify. By no means least, children develop new conceptions of their own identity and of their potentialities. They accept new rules of conduct. They acquire confidence for entering into new kinds of experience, often very private ones. Pupils discover that they can cope with intellectual tasks, discovering that there are objective standards of what is correct apart from personal preference. He who learns to see himself in these new ways becomes the more productive worker and the more responsible citizen. Any view of educational planning that does not seek these boons from schooling is myopic.

4. Schools, jointly with other agencies, select and mould the elites who will carry the heaviest responsibilities, local and national. The selecting is more important than the identifying, for few can achieve high positions aided only by school lessons. A modernizing society generates a lengthening roaster of roles of varying difficulty and prestige ; selecting or identifying persons for different strata of positions and allocating men among the specialities on each level require participation by schools. Therein, of course, lie issues about equal opportunity and fairness.

5. Finally, much of what goes on in schools is designed to perpetuate and improve the educational system itself, to preserve old and introduce new intellectual systems. The schools do this by identifying and producing competence to persist to higher levels of school and by cycling personnel back into the expanding system as teachers. In its higher reaches this cultural function of the schools creates and supports a national 'high culture' and the competence to share in a world culture, whether of diplomacy or of science. Schools in an advancing society are continually making the competence of previous cohorts of pupils obsolete. Though absorbing new cognitive maps of the world and new affective responses toward both old and new, youth are enabled to acquire the material and non-material marks of modernization.

Most of us would like to believe that a certain increase in the percentage of youth finishing secondary school will be accompanied by a definite increase in national income. But such correlations always turn out to be loose and ambiguous, in part because of this multifunctionality of formal (or non-formal) education. These functions must be seen as supportive of and supported by the social milieu surrounding the schools, a milieu that is also inducing similar or complementary attitudes and skills in people. The school's role in the creation of alert and enterprising individuals is essential yet also only modest. Hence we ask not what is the contribution of education to development but in what ways does education becomes knit into development processes ? The school can be a powerful influence when it is surrounded by a 'development milieu'.

Now it is a simple matter of fact that in all societies individuals' schooling, occupations, and incomes are only moderately correlated—except at the extremes of the occupational scale. Many individuals have certificates from a school but learned little beyond rote lessons ; others with less or no formal schooling have by other means become enterprising persons. In part, of course, this situation reflects the fact that some individuals have greater native ability. But also some individuals acquire more of one and others more of another of the various outcomes of schooling.

It is the multifunctionality of schooling that makes the usual specifications for development education so unhelpful. One reads

thot schools should have a 'balanced' curriculum—yet wbat each pupil learns is quite unbalanced. Education, so it is said, should be adjusted to the oeeds of tbe developing society; the curriculum should transmit specifically those skills and attitudes needed to transform the society in the prescribed direction. But when ooe steps outside the manpower framework—itself of illusory definiteness—one can find no clear consensus on what national needs are. Even if we could, we cannot specify what particular lessons or methods of teaching would arouse in pupils specifically those needed capacities. One pupil will be drowsy except in the lessons that interest him. The grinding pedant may become an accurate laboratory techoician; the dunce becomes a prospering trader. Schools affect different pupils in bewildering ways. Neat formulas for what schools should occomplish and predictions of how much the growiog cadre of secondary graduates will contribute to gross national product are often nullified by events.

Pupils' learning can be sufficiently balanced if the curriculum is diversified ond if classes are stimulating. Schools will be adjusted to their society if alert graduates are turned out. One could not prevent schools from being in large measure adjusted or oecomodated to the surrounding society, but they need not be wholly so. If the culture is stagnant and hostile to the wished-for techological society, 'uoadapted' schools are more likely to lead pupils to become olienated from traditions nnd receptive to novelty. Certainly also, miserably staffed schools will bring few pupils except the most brilliant or rebellious to new aspirations for their lives. The norm of 'adapted' has little utility for evaluating schools; as often as otherwise it would mean adapting them not to the culture of the pupils' parents but to a way of life that is barely envisaged by a few national leaders. And few schools in so sluggish a society will leave much mark oo their pupils' lives unless those lives are also being moved in new directions by otber progressive influences around them.

Effective training for occupatiooal goals

Any country that can put a growing proportion of its people to work in productive jobs will have a rising *per capita* income. Unfortunately, training men for new kinds of work does not put tl.m to work. Nor does it bring either the more subtle capabilities for

productive work or the n

tence. The most frustratinhuman factors of production into exis-
is that they lack the resouring handicap of under-developed countries
the men who will know hoces with which to train a labour force or
training and useful emplcw to use those who are trained. Effective
and a core of them alroyment presuppose experienced instructors
Even when places for usady busy in the new kinds of production.
remains the question of the of new skills are at hand, however, there
training.   e most suitable places in which to provide

Several conditions

adequate supply of trainedmust be met if a country is to have an
bring about and schools labour. These conditions are difficult to
(a) there must be oppo are related differently to each condition :
opportunities must be crtunities for men to use skills and those
(b) there must be a difflearly visible to the potential workers ;
individuals to prepare ferentiated structure of incentive impelling
proportioned to the impor the jobs, and these incentives must be
development process ; (c)rtance of the different kinds of jobs in the
and variety, must be provschooling or training, in sufficient amount
skilled men wanted ; (dided to turn out the numbers and kinds of
provide job-linked traininthere must be incentives for employers to
must support these cong for new workers ; (e) the social climate
competence in a more thaditions by stimulating people to use their
                            in routine mood.

A major deficiency in

that it is carried out in the usual form of manpower planning is
officials to fall back uin physical units ; often this virtually forces
plans. Technicians drawn coercion to obtain compliance with the
skills without taking ar up lists of supposed needs for various
affect the numbers who wy account of how the prices of skills will
is failure to compare hill be employed. An associated omission
produce with the cost ow workers will be used and what they will
entailed in implementing of training them. The implicit coercion
concealed behind rationisuch prescriptions may be softened by being
educational specificationsng of places in schools combined with rigid
casting are aggravated an for each job. Consequently errors in fore-
to which diversities in d waste multiplies. The greater the extent
into account, however, outcomes of training or schooling are taken
available skills to actual the more flexible will be the adjusting of
                            offers of employment.

If plans for schools are tightly linked to projected estimates of skills wanted, the previously mentioned misapprehension that occupation and kind or level of schooling must be closely linked is encouraged. But if the more prudent assumption is made that in most occupations there is a wide range of schooling, training and ability, the projections for opening schools will have to be in very broad terms. This allows educational planning to go forward more autonomously, gearing into economic ends more on its own terms.

Planning in terms of specific schedules of needed skills leads to exaggeration of the need for the middle and higher levels of skill. This occurs partly because planning procedures were worked out by men from the advanced nations who have forgotten how crude was the labour force that built their own economics. Virtually never does a manpower plan get formulated in terms of how few individuals with the scarced skills the developing country can get along with during the next few decades. No doubt, also, the academic bias of advisers to developing countries fosters inflation in the estimates of high-level manpower needs. Few planners, one suspects, have any realization of how adept employers are in utilizing half-trained men. Gearing plans for school precisely into estimates of needed skills fosters the very rigidity that would prevent flexible adjustment by workers to changing economic circumstances.

Failure to seek flexibility in plans for training and utilizing men in production is associated with a common propensity to think in terms of goals rather than in terms of the steps by which an economy grows. One protection against this bias is to think first in terms of the services to be performed and then estimating the training that will suffice. For example, if the aim is to reduce illness in the population at the least cost, a country needs many sanitarians and nurses but very few physicians. The aim for a poor country is to maximize the flow of services, not the numbers of highly skilled men.

From the foregoing considerations it is clear that determining the variety and place of training for occupations requires a more subtle analysis than the estimating of the amount of trained competence needed. It is fallacious to argue that because development requires human capital, which requires education, a country must set

up numerous technical schools. If the skills are standardized, needed in considerable numbers, and widely used, it is efficient to establish trade schools to train men in them. Similar considerations plus the large admixture of science support the establishment of polytechnical schools for the sub-professional occupations. For the very rare specialities that require extended formal education it is wasteful to provide programmes within a country's universities until development is well along. With comparatively few exceptions that reflect special local circumstances, technical streams or schools on the secondary level have low priority. The more vulnerable such skills are to obsolescence, the more wasteful and inefficient it will be to train for them in schools. (The kind of education most likely to suffer from over-investment in technical schools is that for prospective teachers of science.) For most members of the labour force the function of schools is to make them ready to learn specific vocational skills.

By shifting as much of the direct occupational training as possible to programmes run by employers (including public agencies such as railways), adjustment of the supply of skills to genuine demands for them is more assured. It is the men who will pay for the skills who judge how many and which kinds of trained men are needed. Moreover, there is an enormous saving on teachers since many of them can be senior workers in firms or government offices. Still another advantage is that training is given to committed workers rather than to potential workers; attrition and unnecessary shifting among occupations is minimized. Not least, this approach to manpower training allows the regular schools to concentrate on what they can do best, and most schools in developing countries have all they can do to each a simple curriculum. The general rule, then, is : locate vocational training whenever possible near the point of use.

Socio-political constraints on educational planning

Education in many of the developing countries may become an exclusively public service. The merits of this arrangement are not debated here, but there are some implications for educational planning. To be sure, by that arrangement all of the educational system is brought within the jurisdiction of the educational planner. On the

other hand, the possibilities of the private schools adjusting for the shortcomings of the public system or filling in the gaps are foreclosed. The flexibility and innovation in schools and other training that played so central a part in western economic development cannot operate freely in most countries today.

In a wholly public educational system, though efforts are made to orient schools toward economic development, political criteria often outweigh economic ones in shaping educational policy. On the one hand, high levels of literacy and luxurious universities may be sought for their prestige value in the international scene—even though less ambition in these spheres would release large resources for other development projects. In countries with widespread suffrage, electoral rivalries may encourage spreading educational resources thinly over apathetic populations as well as in areas eager for schools. Thereby the rewarding linkage between local economic advance and local educational progress is weakened. There may be ethnic favouritism in offering places in schools. Rapid expansion may so lower standards that later stages of schooling are handicapped and students in local or overseas universities must spend a year or more in remedial work.

However defensible or desirable some of the political accommodations may be, they undermine the congruence between economic planning and educational planning that supplies much of the rationale for the latter. The task becomes one of manoeuvring the available resources so as to minimize political unrest. Attention is turned from planning the educational system to implementing decisions taken on neither educational nor economic grounds. Nor do political considerations yield aims as definite as those derived from economic or educational considerations. We may acquiesce in particular political goals for education, and the planner must always take those into account. But when combined with economic goals for education, it may prove exceedingly difficult to meet the planning criteria of congruence, consistency and continuity.

It is primary education that is relied upon to prepare youth to read newspapers, understand national symbols or the allusions of leaders, and participate in electoral and party work. This unifying effect has always been one of the main outcomes of popul:

tion. By comparison, direct indoctrination in political ideologies has rather minor effects; indeed, indirect political socialization may well be most effective. Unquestioobably, national consensus does contribute to a developmental plan but that consensus is prohably more certainly produced by the normal curricula than by blunt imposition of political dogmas. Moreover, once national leaders come to view schools as captive audiences for exbortation, they will press for more and more time to be given to it. If the argument that schools form a citizenry more effectively by indirect routes is persuasive, educational planners may be more ready to set forth the view that time used for explicity political teaching would be better used for science or nther pragmatic subjeets.

Those nations that have strong local or tribal cultures contending for dominance face an additional political complication. Or there may be the task of starting all pupils off in their vernacular tongue. If emphasis is given to 'localiziog' the school lessons rather than to focusing mainly upon the universalistic three R's and other foundations of a technological society, leaders face a dilemma. Commonly the only truly local material is the tribal, yet inclusion of sueh lore in lessons may subvert the drive for national consensus. Official encouragement of traditional materials (beyond a modest extent in literature, geography, or history courses) will make it difficult for educational planners to reach any firm estimate of what competence graduates of the school will have in mathematics, scieoce, or other subjects assumed to prepare for vocatiooal life.

Education is effective, to reiterate, largely to the degree that it leads people to use newspapers, bnnks, advertising, agricultural leaflets, and other forms of print. Hence the commoo praetiee of ratioing and controlling newspapers (especially the local ones) and discouraging advertisiog by business firms diminishes the enjoymeot individuals receive from their literacy. Most of the infinity of activities that make up development gn nn withio very local settings. To relate himself to the opportunities or demands nf development requires that an individual be able to interpret loeal events he ean understand within a wider context. This presupposes local as well as national printed informatinn, explanation, and debate. The alertness that is expected tn flow from schnoling will not appear if meo are expected to aet where they live yet to receive information

mainly from a centralised press and mostly in a national context. Thereby much of the anticipated pay-off from schooling in terms of practical competence will be lacking ; consequently the projections of competence for economic roles upon which the planner was counting will prove widely exaggerated.

Within the administrative sphere also there are some serious political hindrances to educational planning. Where the overwhelming proportion of educated men are employed in the civil service, their potential contributions to policy are in large part neutralized by the convention of civil service neutrality. Both the emergence of innovation and its conversion into practice become blocked when virtually all decisions must pass through the meandering corridors of government offices. Centralized decisions lengthen the distance of the decision-maker from tthe circumstances about which decisions must be made. If decisions are taken away from the local habitat of activities, the net contribution to growth processes per secondary or university graduate diminishes. It is not without significance that many more countries provide courses in public administration than in business management—thus, incidentally, increasing their need for expatriate managers.

Hence the projections of correlations between outputs from schools and rates of economic growth will prove disappointing, because so few of the highly trained men have a chance to make autonomous decisions regarding the activities on which they have the most intimate knowledge. Within the economic sphere in both free-enterprise and socialist systems, the problem of decentralizing decisions to effectively smaller and more local centres is a challenge.

A vigorous nation needs to have continua of communication throughout its parts rather than a hiatus between citizens and decision-makers. Ideas and information must flow between local and central areas and among local areas. A long chain of intermediary individuals is needed in both public and private spheres ; this is the less often mentioned theme in the repeated lament that developing countries cannot find enough middle-level personnel. If these networks of communication are too thin, the anticipated pay-off from an expanding educational system will be less than in societies that spread educated men more evenly among communities and along the hierarchies of communication and control.

Issue of equity and quality

In order for a society to obtain and operate a modern economy its people must acquire the necessary skills, but the quality of those skills can be ensured by more than one means. As remarked at several places, the readiness of employers to efficiently use and improve their workers is one important means. Maintaining standards in schools is another means; this is discussed at length below. Third, efforts can be made to widen educational opportunities so that progressively larger parts of the population become the recipients of programmes to improve human resources. But this last policy gives rise to bothersome questions, for a country in the earlier stages of development cannot offer schooling impartially to all categories of people and to all localities and at the same time obtain the maximum flow of skills at tolerable levels of cost. We proceed first to explore some of the different and often incompatible conceptions of equity and efficiency in schooling. (When educational planning is brought into the picture we must consider also the question of freedom of choice in education and jobs.)

There are at least four distinct conceptions of equity:

1. Give each child the same amount of schooling. No country seriously follows this policy; where is seems to approximate such a situation qualitative distinctions are introduced.

2. Give a certain minimum schooling to each child—eliminating the persistent local pockets of complete—but allow the more responsive areas or families to obtain more schooling.

3. Assume each individual sufficient education to reach his potential for mental development. No country has ever seriously striven for this goal unless it defines 'potential' in traditional academic terms that tacitly exclude most children. All school systems rest on assumptions as to which potentials (and whose) it is most worth while to invest in.

4. Give each child schooling so long as his gain in learning (for given inputs of money or teachers' time) reaches some agreed upon amount. In practice the norm is defined usually in terms of

passes on examinations. This is equity among those children possessing the appropriate talent. Those judgement likewise rest nn conventional notions nf what it is wnrtb-wbile for children to learn in school. There is an alternative criterion that manpower and educational planners are enrinusly reluctant to use ; continue educating children so long as their projected life-production value exceeds (by an agreed amount) the cost nf their trainining. (Much of the cost is for teachers, especially the npportunity costs represented by what those teacbers eould enntribute in a different employment).

The equity eriteria shade intn the efficiency ones ; thus the first norm listed below is an alternative version of the fourth on above.

1. Admit pupils beginning with those judged to have tbe greatest potential for learning and proceed to the point at wbich obtainable resources to support schools nre used up. (This implies ehoosing pupils rather than district for subsidy.) Some cbildren learn more tban otbers, and the bigber skills do not need to be so plentiful as tbe lower ones. The fourtb equity norm above is really an efficiency norm in that ability to learn becomes defined norrowly. Developing countries may be tempted to focus mainly upon that learning whlch is assumed to be most closly related to productivity. Yet to offer educatinnal opportunities on the hasis nf talent is no more eqnitable—however much more efficient it may be for the society—tban tn allncate opportunities by sex or race

2. Provide schools mainly nn first to those suhpopulatious or localities from which a given educational ;investment will evoke the ·largest response : persistence in schnnl, ·good marks, and demand for still more schooling. Where there is the most interest in schools, as we know, the extra-school envirnnment is also most supportive of schools. By favouring the already leading districts or social groups, however, equity norms are violated. Yet this second efficiency norm appeals to planners because puhlic interests in schools ·varies with the level of economic dynamic in an·area.

3. Priority investments in schools should be in the levels and locations where returns in productivity most exceed costs. And such investment should be extended so long as the excess of benefits over costs of schooling equals or exceeds that from alternative investments. Clearly this third efficiency criterion is the most definitely economic. While it is difficult to make accurate application of this criterion, the attempt must be made if educational planning is to be more than a shibboleth. The second efficiency norm is the one most closely linking intra-educational allocation with economic development, but the third one is most useful in setting the total investment for schools.

Questions about freedom of choice arise with any governmental system of education. Free choice among publicly subsidized schools combined with freedom to establish private schools could resolve some of the dilemmas here. But other problems could be aggravated ; thus in some developing countries permissive policies on opening schools have multiplied inferior schools beyond justifiable limits. Moreover a country would still have to face questions of selection for schools by ability, and schooling would be distributed in part by families' willingness and ability to pay for them. (It is uncertain how much different that distribution would be from the existing one in most developing countries.)

Some manpower planners and other writers favour authoritative direction of pupils or students into what are judged to be the priority fields. And surely it is easier to believe that equity has been harmonized with efficiency if assumed manpower requirements are used as the guide, provided one can ignore the fact that many qualified individuals are being rationed out of the kind of schooling they prefer and for which they may be better qualified. Restriction on freedom of choice always has severe reactions upon motivation. Much of the tortuous effort to balance supply with estimated requirements for different kinds of skills could be avoided if heavy investments were made in supplying pupils with abundant information on occupations. What is stipulated here is information, not guidance ; the latter requires a large staff of scarce specialized teachers. It presupposes also that the counsellors are good social psychologists, that they really have reliable knowledge about occupational oppor-

tunities, and even that they are able to determine the effects of their actions upon future demand-supply relationships.

Within the context of the considerations being explored in this section, it is important to notice that the prevalent practice of working out educational plans on the national, aggregate level ignores innumerable inequities inefficiencies within and among the districts of a country. Yet if some kind of harmonization between those two norms is attempted for each district, the over-all national congruence between educational and other plans will be reduced. It was remarked earlier that combining non-economic with economic aims for education in planning eliminates much of the seeming definiteness that appeared to inhere in the manpower forecasts to which schools plans were to be adjusted. In the same way, the attempt to harmonize equity with efficiency considerations will produce incongruence. In both examples, part of the maladjustment represents inconsistency between short and long-run plans, but a larger part reflects the impossibility of achieving unambiguous programme specifications when more than one goal on the benefit side is considered. (Only at an advanced state of affluence can a society achieve a reasonably good balance among these opposed goals.)

Considerations of equity versus efficiency are linked in turn with problems about the quality of schools. Until a fairly advanced stage of development, the spread of education through a population increases the gaps in schooling among subpopulations : villages and cities, less and more properous districts, upholders of old and of new values, poor and rich. It is often said, in the face of these imparities, that at least the country can make sure that those who graduate from its schools meet satisfactory standards even if few can become graduates. Where the local culture does not appreciate the importance of quality in school performance, policing of minimum standards can be defended. But fidelity to 'high' academic standards can also give rise to serious dilemmas.

Schools are expected both to select pupils for advancement in the system and to allocate them among types of school or curriculum on any given level of the system. Selection may rely in varying mixture upon teachers' estimates, external examinations, ability to

pay, or interest. Using the same sorts of indicators, often combined with largely mythical assumptions about 'types of minds', pupils are adjudged capable of finishing the grammer stream or as most suitably directed into a vocational or other course. Clearly, selection and allocation are interlinked. And, of course, the criteria used in either process may vary in validity and reliability.

If the means of selection are very narrow (or hookish), for example, allocation among kinds of schooling must be inefficient since most of the potential range of pupils, capabilities have not come under scrutiny. This consideration is crucial for those who desire that school prepare youth for other than academic sorts of jobs. Seldom is the validity of these criteria tested by examining the adult vocational success of pupils with different amounts or kinds of schooling. Yet if qualifications for occupations are stipulated narrowly or preponderantly in terms of formal educational, the congruence between schooling and anticipated productivity of these individuals in their employment will be lowered. Indeed, to make entry to jobs depend closely on certificates is to put an undue part of the task of both selection and allocation of individuals among adult roles upon the schools. After all, formal schooling is only a moderately good predictor of economic performance apart from the highest and lowest categories of jobs. If educational planning is carried out in terms of definite specifications of school certificates fitted precisely to predicted indexes of productivity for various classes of workers, the very definiteness that is assumed to inhere in educational planning will be frustrated. In countries with too few school places to satisfy existing aspirations, it is also a widespread practice for individuals to take a vocational course, for example, as second choice but to use it to move into a different sorts of employment—a very costly way of producing poor clerks.

Thus, basing educational policy or plans preponderantly upon certificates and examination results violates both efficiency and equity norms. The examination marks are commonly very unreliable. Elaborate systems of examinations encourage narrow conceptions of talent and competence. They are mediocre predictors of vocational performance except in very similar kinds of behaviour. The standards they do in fact uphold often have little relevance to the need of

developing countries for innovative men or the prime need to improve the utilization of available manpower. Examination systems commonly discourage flexibility and reinforce conservatism. Combined with the planner's penchant for copying Western standards of competence for occupations, formal schooling is usually prolonged beyond necessity.

It is overlook often that a high rate of wastage in schools (especially elementary) may be in part the price a country pays for the search process to identify pupils ready and aspiring for further education. An efficient and honest examination system is also costly. If that cost is to be justified and the search process improved, some of the familiar effects of external examination systems have to be combated, though where places are fewer than applicants by a wide margin most of these deleterious effects must be suffered.

Efforts to maintain standards in school systems create tensions among teachers on different levels of the system. Each teacher is supposed to instruct the pupils in certain matters that are useful to all citizens, but at the same time a certain proportion of pupils must be qualified for advancement to the next grade or level. Thus, an elementary teacher may try to use real-life materials to make her classes interesting and to encourage pupils to venture outside the standardized syllabus. Although she has little voice in choosing the pupils who will be accepted into secondary school, she knows that she will be judged by how well her pupils do in the next class or school and in the leaving examination. Naturally she hesitates to depart from the beaten path even if she is so fortunate as to know how to do so. Thus, the mechanism that is set up to validate certificates of competence for graduates operates to narrow and aridify the content of lessons, however broad the syllabus. The multifunctionality latent in schools (spoken of in an earlier section) is attenuated by the efforts to build an orderly school system turning out certified and hopefully standardized graduates.

It may help to see schools against the broader socialization process that works in every society towards both homogenizing individuals and differentiating them from each other. The historic emergence of formal schools has systematized that dual process. Schools diffuse a common culture among the growing generation, but they

also identify individuals to be trained for specialized functions. The equity norm is more suited to the homogenizing function of schools, while efficiency norms relate more to creation of specialized persons, though both norms are relevant to each task.

Children's aspirations to persist in school reflect individual appreciation of opportunities to rise above the populace, but continual extension of schooling throughout the population reflects social determination not to allow privileged elites to consolidate their position. Extension of schools into districts displaying little readiness to use them will lower the correlation between schooling and occupation upon which the planner relies. Strict examination standard and close articulation among levels of schools on the basis of those examinations (i.e., selection) will raise the correlations. Yet, at the same time, a highly selective school system relying upon academic examinations may diminish the total influence of schools upon individuals' lives, and it will diminish the aggregate effect of schools upon economic growth.

Schools as instrument for value reorientation

Only if schools give individuals more than simple skills in literacy and a few rudimentary vocational operations will those individuals be able to participate fully in development. Schools make their largest contribution by widening the horizons of youth, by giving them a capacity to emphasize with new human situations, and by preparing them to share in innovative activity. We know all too little about how to bring about these kinds of learning or even how to find out whether schools have done so. The basic developmental changes are not the introduction of steel mills and airlines but the sprouting of thousands of new small enterprises and farms.

The most challenging task is not to introduce one or another sort of school system into a society, though some kind has to be implanted as the base for other changes. The essential task of the educational planner is to root the educational system in a complex matrix of influences making at once for change and also for new kinds of stability-influences related more to appropriate use of trained men than to projecting how many need to be trained. Schools conserve new along with old values ; they stabilize new social patterns at the same time as they foster respectivity to change. The plan-

ner's task is not to find out what schooling has contributed to growth in some advanced country during the past half century or so but to calculate the pay-off in his own country from the kind of graduates his school system can turn out. He has to figure out what is the change potential built into the graduates in his country.

Preparing pupils for practical activities has been an issue about which much controversy has swirled in development circles. It is widely assumed that by implanting new values in pupils, particularly by means of some kind of vocational education, the proportion of educated but untrained graduates can be reduced. This argument is linked often with the contention that a new nation must have a new kind of education, quite different from the one implanted by colonial rulers or a former ruling group. Only brief reflexion is needed, however, to release that independence supplies no relief for education. Perhaps, even, with independence a country can more freely copy specifically the kind of education that seemingly brought development to the advanced countries. Understandably, leaders of new nations or of those newly determined to modernize wish to have an educational system adapted to their own customs and aspirations. Indeed, schools are always coloured by the surrounding society, and a school system that is functioning effectively in a society will be localized to its milieu.

But leaders wish also to produce a technological society, and that aim forces them to rely largely upon models created in the more developed societies. Obviously a useful education will be adapted to the society in which it operates. But it does not follow that literacy sort of schooling must be avoided. It is not easier, and no more contributive to development, to teach carpentry than arithmetic ; neither is intrinsically the more practical. The economic and social needs of a developing society are numerous and diverse. It profits us little to try to inventory such needs and then deduce the most appropriate kinds of school lessons.

Another misleading slogan is that lessons should deal with objects instead of words. Though objects clearly have priority over words, the most important outcome of schooling is ability to concep-

tualise and to manipulate symbols. A sounder variant of this position is technology and efficient social, organization. Yet science can be taught as bookishly as Latin ; when .laboratory work consists of demonstrations by a mental assistant, pupils will gain little respect for the pragmatic and experimental aspects of science.

Most arguments about adapting schools to the local society and its needs are fallacious or equivocal. To be sure, if graduates held poorer jobs typically than non-graduates, .we would suspect the school system was of little or even negative utility. But the usual situation is the opposite. It is always difficult to decide whether schools, are congruent with the society ; we are in fact unable to make that judgement about our own Western societies. Schools can undergird a renaissance of local traditions but prepare pupils poorly for participating in modernizing changes. Those citizens longest in contact with the West may be served well by the schools while the mass of the population are little affected ·by such schooling as they receive. The 'fitness' of schools can change without any alteration in them because local people come belatedly to appreciate how schools: can serve their aspirations.

When one tries to think out what effects schools can exert on pupils' values, the fundamental question is : to what society are schools to be adapted ? The ways of life of pupils' parents supply few clues for what should be taught, if technological progress is the aim. The children are being prepared to live in a society that as yet can be found in only a few localities of their nation. Except · in the 'growth needs' of the society, the efforts of schools to give that preparation will receive little support from influences outside the schools. And this means; to return to the planning context that the productive potential of graduates must be given lower weights than for formally similar graduates in more advanced societies. Yet the individual who finishes university, for example, can in a developing society earn much more relative to secondary graduate than his counterpart in Europe. The last two statements are not inconsistent.

Schools officials can legitimately object to being judged preponderantly · by how well graduates function in the world of work. For all the reasons given throughout this· paper, the efficiency with which graduates are utilized depends mainly upon decisions and ope-

tations outside the schools.   Moreover, unemployment of graduates may occur because political decisions have over-expanded the schools. Unrealistic wage structures may have been : imposed on employers who therefore hire fewer men, or employers may not yet have learned how to use the better labour force that is being made available to them by the slowly improving schools.   Graduates may be ineffective also because the peripheral learning that so permeates schools in advanced countries has not yet taken root ; this again is a reason for being sceptical of . the employment significance of school · certificates.

When vocational education is under discussion, there should be as much concern for implanting attitudes of workmanship as in teaching specific skills, for attitudes and motives determine how skill will be used. In planning vocational training on the secondary level, for example, a ministry can choose among policies or combinations of them : (a) schools can be set up to train in specific crafts (tractor-driving or carpentry) ; (b) schools can focus on teaching science (including having pupils construct their own apparatus) ; (c) pupils from the first year in school can be given mechanical toys and science kits (graded to their maturity) ; learning that is play may be the most effective ; (d) various sandwich courses and on the-job programmes can be encouraged—though these are most useful at post-secondary ages ; (e) a few, including the writer, come out strongly for putting large educational investments into provisions of information about conceptions.

The choices range. from turning out men with definite skills ready for employment to relying upon schools to prepare people to receive specific training. The latter alternative expresses a view heard more often from employers than from others ; from most employees effective learning for work begins with taking a job. General and vocational education are not substitutes but complements. This leads to policies that encourage flexibility in utilization of men. It also is to say that individuals should postpone occupational choice as late as the society can allow them to remain out of employment. Needless to say, it simplifies the planner's task while making it also less essential, for he is not then obliged to forecast and schedule particular

curricula (below a fairly high level of school). He can turn much of the scheduling, forecasting, and training over to employees. The problem becomes as much or more of inducing employers to hire men and making it worth-while for employers to provide training than of central planning of programmes in practical education.

But it is over the appropriate kind of schooling for village children of peasants that the fiercest controversy has raged. There is widespread advocacy for orienting curricula in village schools mainly toward work on the land and increasing respect for farming as a way of life.

However, the percentage of rural children who will be drawn into non-farm jobs varies widely over a country and changes quickly in any given locality. It is wasteful to teach the craft of farming to children who will go to towns ; what they need is readiness to absorb other kinds of training. Even those who remain in village will benefit little from imitating their parents' tillage practices in school gardens ; in fact they will be repelled by the drudgery. If it is an improved farming that is to be taught in the village schools—assuming peasant parents would tolerate that 'waste' of time—how will a country find teachers who will know which improved farm practices are suitable for particular locality to which they happen to be posted? At the same time, the village teacher—who usually is less well educated or trained than other teachers—must struggle to make sure pupils learn the simple three R's.

It is futile to blame schools for the flow of youth to towns ; the accusation was proved groundless in the West decades ago. It is education as such, not particular lessons, that motivates pupils to migrate—assuming that push prevails over pull. One can imagine lessons that hold agriculture in respect, but not to the degree that migration would be restrained. One would like schools to teach respect for physical labour, though no school system and few individual schools in any society succeed at that aim. The function of education in general and the appeal of schooling for individuals is that it supplies an escape from physical labour.

In the political domain, pupils can come to share certain bases of consensus and possibly even certain ideologies ; there we are

concerned with common values. But in the vocational domain, the individual is concerned with his private and separate career. His success depends upon his capacity to calculate and to decide as an autonomous agent—particularly the majority of individuals who are self-employed. Schools can seldom implant vocational preferences that run counter to opportunities that are visible to the individual. But, once more, this argues for flexible allocation of individuals to training and for planning in broad categories of education and work rather than in terms of specific occupations.

The interrelated problems that have been under discussion in this section must be viewed from within the schools as well. First of all, there is the familiar shortage of qualified teachers—a shortage that will persist into fairly advanced stages of development or even longer. In most countries, few teachers can instruct in more than rudimentary topics of the basic syllabus. With all the handicaps in teaching the core subjects, for schools to attempt also to try to manipulate attitudes would quickly overload the curriculum. The quality of education in most schools will long be so low that all suggested new tasks for the schools must be viewed with reserve.

In the last analysis, individuals are prepared for living in a new and more open and changing society not by indoctrination in values but by learning the skills that will prepare them to continue to learn in the new society.

The social context of education determines its effect

Social scientists who study education differ as to the importance of formal education for social change, and even the same writer takes different positions according to the particular issue. Is schooling in the short-run and in the long-run, more determined by than determining of the main features of a society ? Obviously, until a society has developed over generations an elaborate system of formal education and auxiliary training, together with the other cultural influences of complex societal life, it will not posses a complex technology and a highly productive economy. But development consists of a succession of short-runs. As in walking, it may be education that leads out the first step, or it may be the economy or the polity ; at any moment it will be difficult to decide which 'foot' brought the

country to its present spot. In sustained development all these factors supports each other. The questions as to the effect of education is thus circular and really unanswerable.

If one turns this another way, the effect of education on a society depends largely upon the readiness of non-educational institutions to make use of the capacities that schools have implanted in pupils. All adults in an oil-rich country could be secondary graduates, yet be unable to carry out complex production except under guidance of expatriates. In countries without that special natural resource, a high level of average education cannot be achieved unless the population produces most of the resources to support schools step by step along the way. There is not a high correlation between countries' level of schooling and their *per capita* incomes—and the latter may be the prior factor. Skills function only as incorporated in broader patterns of behaviour; whether this behaviour will be learned and used well is only in small part determined by formal education. It follows that it is misleading to try to keep education and economic processes closely in balance; to the extent that this can be accomplished, the adjusting element will seldom be the school.

It is asserted often that peasant's children in developing countries reject farming as an occupation and that sons of manual workers strive single-mindedly for white-collar jobs. Actually as studies in Africa and elsewhere show, farming ranks among rural youth ahead of many white-collar jobs. If peasants' sons can count on getting some land with capital and credit in localities with good market opportunities, many will view farming favourably. Yet. if the often-recommended indoctrination of rural pupils actually succeeded, too many would be kept in rural areas and opportunities would be even scarcer than now. At the age when vocational choices are made, moreover, few pupils will be both interested in becoming modern farmers and confident that they succeed in doing so. Where market incentives are expanding, schools can be useful auxiliary influences. Urban youth are no less realistic; however strongly they crave the more attractive j... ons to the shifting job markets.

All these considerations set forth in this section constitute a plea for making school systems flexible. Vocational qualifications should not be tied to a particular course of study or certificate. Secondary schools should normally have only a broad differentiation of curricula. General education should predominate heavily on the secondary level—including therein a strong emphasis on science. Pupils should be able to take varied courses and shift easily among curricula. Educational careers should not be determined at young age nor by one or two tests. There should be more than one academic road to most vocations and diversified linkages between formal schooling and specialized trainining at work. A fluid society will be fostered by a fluid educational system.

Education has to be linked to the interest that are the stuff of development. Where people are demanding schools—at least where they keep their children in school—we can usually be confident that development is already occurring. Wastage is least in the areas with highest average rates of enrolment. Appreciation of schooling is mainly a reflection of experienced or directly observed opportunities to use what the school offers in activities that will contribute to development. This is why educational planning need to be done for local areas as well as for the whole nation, but it is also why planning will be imprecise.

Few Westerns realize how modest was the independent contribution of schools to economic development in their own countries before the most recent decades. Though the network of schools was thin and their quality poor ; there were nevertheless many other inducements to accept new ideas and to enter into new kinds of production. There were many living models of success for youth to emulate. The cultural impoverishment in this broader sense in most developing countries (outside the capitals) is difficult to comprehend. Even when observed, its importance as a hindrance to development is often underestimated. In frontier United States, for example, there were newspapers ; some lawyers, physicians, clergy, teachers ; and there were many educated mothers. Often there were libraries, lyceums, workingmen's institutes, and the like. Few developing countries have begun as yet to acquire these for the hinterland communities. In the West, those influences rested on a spreading

literacy but they also made literacy functional. Schools under such conditions has to assume only a modest socialization task, for the bulk of the stimuli to change were outside schools.

The concentration of the best educated men in central cities and in official positions in developing nations reduces the impact of each of them upon the society. There are few vigorous economic, political, and cultural activities in local areas linked in with the elite groups of the capital. Hence the importance of encouraging local newspapers, devolution of economic decisions, and active organs of local government as nourishment for vigour in local life—where most people live. Only when these amenities—as they are so inadequately labelled—have spread, will formal education yield most of its potential benefits. Educational planning is an inevitable feature of complex societies that are attempting to establish a large, diversified, and integrated educational system. The planning may be done by a central government bureau, solely by local officials acting under national legislation, or even by responsible private groups. The purpose of this work has not been to questions the utility of educational planning, but rather to question the way it is usually done and to emphasize the importance of many societal factors usually ignored by the planners.

In its conventional form educational planning is linked too intimately with manpower planning ; for that and other reasons it takes on a too subordinate plane in over-all national policy. To conceive of educational planning as mainly the implementation of forecasts of numbers of men who need to be trained for different occupations is at the same time to overlook other important effects of education and to tie educational programmes to unreliable and often misperceived development priorities. Educational planning is less concerned with ensuring the proper flow of men into occupations than with establishing effective linkages of schools to programmes for the utilization of trained men and to other social forces contributing to modernization.

There will always be a large statistical component in educational planning. But that part of the work should focus on tracing the 'flow dynamics' of pupils and teachers of varying kinds through the educational system. These analyses are fully as complex as manpower forecasts, but they are more pertinent to the crucial decisions

than must be made in expanding or shrinking and in articulating different educational programmes. As pointed out often in the preceding pages, many operations that will root schools firmly in their societal milieu are unrelated to or even opposed to most of the considerations dealt with by manpower planners.

This paper has opposed many popular proposals to add to the work of schools in developing countries made for the laudable purpose of making pupils more practical in their outlooks. In some cases it was contended simply that ill-prepared pupils and teachers could not carry a heavier burden than the core items of the curriculum. In other cases the argument was that suggested policies would introduce too much rigidity into the educational system. The plea was to allow schools more autonomy. If schools are allowed to concentrate on their proper work, they will turn out a more broadly educated generation ready to enter into practical training programmes. This permissive approach is more likely to bring the much-desired 'social' benefits of schools, and at the same time contribute more surely to economic development while not being smothered narrowly conceived economic demands.

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Education for the Gifted

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5

The concept of the gifted child lays importance on potentiality rather than upon norms and single measures of giftedness. It involves movement away from concept of single type of giftedness and fixed intelligence and belief in predetermined development.

Children possess various types of gifts. Nearly most of the children have in them some sort of special gift or talent. The variety of gifted children possessing outstanding abilities can be classified as follows :

1. Outstanding intellectual ability with keen sense of reasoning, language fluency, mathematical skills and spatial imagination, etc.

2. Extraordinary ability in scientific subjects: machanics, technological dexterity and acute logical and rational thinking ability, etc.

3. Talents for creative arts like paintings, sculpture, music, creative writing, dramatics, dancing.

4. Social leadership and human relationships.

5. Talents for physical activities, games, sports, athletics, climbing, hiking, camping etc. .

It will be noted that children have got talents for one or more of the above abilities. But today our attention has been concentrated on only intellectually gifted children at the cost of neglecting the other gifted children. Thus modern society with its standards

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of appreciating only the intellectually and scientifically gifted has neglected its cultural and social human relationship. This lag of progress between the material and non-material cultures in modern age could only be bridged by society encouraging and appreciating all outstanding talents in all fields of life.

How shall we provide facilities for the full development of the special genius of the child and at the same time help to develop his total personality ? The problem, therefore, has to be attacked in two ways. Firstly, to help and encourage the child to develop his special gift or talent. Secondly, to provide him with facilities and activities that help him to develop an all-round balanced personality. This will necessitate that the gifted children must not be segregated as a gifted child in one field may be average in the other. Further, by associating the gifted with other children they begin to appreciate the special talents of the other children also. Such associations help to develop an attitude which prevents the unhealthy acquiring of superiority complex or superior-airs or becoming 'gifted snobs'. It is very necessary also to avoid one-sided development of the child's special talent at the cost of other attainments. People with narrow one-tract attitude, mind or ability have proved difficult in their human relationships. Moreover, such persons trained in narrow fields lose the wider human perspective and have no scruples in dropping or manufacturing atom bomb.

Society's standard of judging and appreciating the different gifts should not be preferential. All outstanding talents and gifts should be welcomed and accepted on par by society. Then only will education pay equal attention to their development. Modern society today pays enormous attention to intellectual and scientific talents. This erroneous attitude towards other gifted children has got to be removed. For all special creative talents in different fields help to enrich society materially and culturally. Merely encouraging only those talents that help to enhance material benefits clearly shows that our cultural development has not advanced to a higher level. Democratic society which is not based only on attaining material benefits should help to appreciate other talents and abilities that lead to the fullest growth of an individual citizen. For this reason,

it is necessary that teachers and citizens in general develop equal respect for all different types of talents.

The next problem is how to detect a gifted child. Modern education has evolved many different types of tests for finding out the varied abilities of a child. But can these standard mechanical tests detect a gifted child ? For any outstanding talent is by its nature, neither standardised nor mechanical. It is, therefore, necessary that we do not put all our faith in these tests to find out the gifted. The gifted have curiosity, originality, imagination and creativeness. To find out such ability, it requires on the part of the teachers to have some originality and attitude of open-mindedness. For today a child who does not conform to the rigid fixed time-table or the routine of an institution is judged as a maladjusted or problem child. It is, therefore, very necessary to educate teachers who can do justice to the average and at the same time show special appreciation for the gifted out of the ordinary. This leads to the problem of how to provide mass education to the increasing vast numbers and at the same time help the gifted to develop his or her special genius. The solutions offered to solve this problem have been many and varied e.g. special schools for the gifted, homogenous classes, upgraded curricula, acceleration etc. These interesting suggestions may help the gifted to develop his or her special talent but such special treatment of the gifted will not help him of her to acquire certain other traits of human relations and special relationships which are very essential for leadership in society. It is, therefore, necessary to evolve school programmes that help both the average and the gifted to develop according to their abilities along with others.

Education for the gifted may be reviewed under the following topics :

The part played by the school.

(a) Its curriculum, projects-experiments, co-curricular activities. It should challenge the gifted after attaining the basic requirements.

(b) Library activities, both for the average and the gifted.

(c) Social and cultural activities, drama, celebrations of festivals, dancing, art, crafts, students council, camps, scouting,

A.C.C., N.C.C., participation in the community activities, social education etc.

The school academic programme will have topics for study as laid down in the curriculum. To help the gifted, however, the teacher will organise projects to give learning experience to the children. In the projects, experiments and other co-curricular activities the gifted will be provided with ample opportunity to exercise their talents. Further, these many activities in project and experiments will enable the other children also to contribute accordingly to their ability and aptitude. In this manner the academic programme will provide enough scope of work for both the average and the talented. Further, it is more advisable to lead the gifted on broader horizontal-based academic programme rather than on vertical programme since to-day both information and literature have increased enormously. This broad-based horizontal equipment that the gifted child acquires will help him in his future higher studies in the university.

The library activity in the school academic programme should play an increasingly important role. Through the library activities the gifted children will be able to maintain interest in their academic studies. Further, the gifted who show enormous curiosity will be able to satisfy them by referring to the library. Thus library activities well planned should help not only to raise the general standard of education but help to provide useful, beneficial and purposeful activity for the gifted. The library should no doubt be well-equipped with different types of reference books.

The physical education activities co-ordinate the various talents of the pupils. Team spirit, certain judgements in the anticipation of movements, emotional training of accepting defeat and victory and at the same time developing among other gifted children respect for the gifted player or the athlete are some of the very essential educational factors that are acquired through physical education activities. Further even the academically gifted should not neglect to develop physical fitness because it helps to maintain mental health. Moreover, for preserving good mental, physical and emotional health it is very essential that a pupil has other subordinate interests and hobbies.

Through the special and cultural activities, the school does not only give opportunity for the talent in cultural fields to develop those talents, but at the same time helps others to take interest and participate in cultural activities. School is a place where children with potential abilities try to find out their interests and real aptitudes. It requires that the school must offer all possible types of opportunity for the child to participate in and select according to his ability, interest and aptitudes. The school can do the following :

1. The school should accelerate the growth of special ability in the child.

2. The gifted children may be grouped together to develop their special talents.

3. The programme for the gifted may be enriched according to his or her special aptitudes and ability.

4. The child may be given electives to develop his special gifts after a certain age.

During the school period, the pupils have chance to correct if they have been wrong in opting for certain subjects.

Therefore, at the school stage in early years upto IX grade or upto the age of 14, there need be no attempt to dissect the courses and activities for specialization. Further, through social activities and participation in the community activities in the neighbourhood, the child gets a sense of belonging to the community. Through it, he or she develops loyalty and a sense of responsibility towards others. It is no doubt very difficult to achieve all these traits and attitudes and skills without proper response and co-operation of teachers and the parents.

The importance of the teacher in the education of the gifted cannot be under-rated. He should really play such a role as to help the child develop his or her gifts to the fullest. The teacher should help to :

1. stimulate the child through organised programmes of studies and providing proper environments.

2. develop a sense of responsibility and self-direction in the child.

3. He should have fairly good mastery over his subject.
4. He should he fair and firm with his pupils.
5. He should have gift to detect the gifted children.
6. He should have love and respect for his profession.
7. Teacher should welcome the right of the child to differ or dissent. He should encourage independent thinking, and welcome original ideas or thoughts. A teacher is not necessarily a conformist.
8. The teacher within limits should allow gifted children freedom to express themselves and makes experiments.
9. The teacher should have ability to appreciate originality, creativeness and curiosity in the child.
10. The teacher should stimulate and challenge the intellect of the child into probing for truth.
11. The teacher should have resourcefulness and enthusiasm.
12. The teacher should always try to see that his educational programme never fails to arouse interest, intellectual stimulus and quest for solving problems.

To fulfil this task the teacher should have the following facilities :

1. enough leisure time to equip himself for the subject, for the planning of study programme corrections and guiding the pupils.

2. should be given some money to build up his own library and materials etc.

3. to attend a refreshers' course and go on an educational tour after every three years.

4. freedom to organise his teaching programme and academic activities for his pupils.

5. Lastly, the teacher should get encouragement and appreciation from time to time for his gallent efforts for both average and gifted children.

What parents can do to help educate the gifted

1. To encourage the curiosity of the child and to participate in it to find an answer.

2, To recognise the special interest and aptitude in the child and encourage the same.

3. To provide facilities to the child at home by way of :

    (a) helping to build a library on the subject of reference books or making him a member of a library.

    (b) helping him to build a small laboratory or providing materials for model making etc., or encouraging him to join the school science, art, literature club, etc.

    (c) by helping him to meet and contact experts on the subject of the child's interest.

    (d) The parents should share their interest and hobbies with the child.

    (e) Parents should help the child to develop maturity, self-confidence, self-reliance by allowing him to make certain decisions and undertake some responsibilities.

    (f) Parents, teachers and the child together should help the child plan his future educational goal and objective.

    (g) Lastly, the parents must understand the child's ability, should avoid psychological errors like expecting too much or unconsciously disturbing his mental health.

    (h) Like teachers, parents should be educated about the development stage of the child's physical, mental and emotional characteristics.

    (i) Above all, the school and the parent should co-operate in all the activities promoted by the school. *Educating the child should be common* endeavour of the home and school.

All over the world the students are in revolt. These revolts have taken the form of an intellectual protest as well as violent outburst in the form of destruction of property and indiscipline. These angry young men have been feeling a sort of vacuum in the life which is without any ideal or objective to strive for. It has been

found by the studies conducted in our states that the leaders of these angry young men have invariably been brilliant students or gifted ones. Further these young expressions of anti-social behaviour in India have also been led by the mentally 'above average' students. The causes of these disturbances may be many. It may be the results of environment and the undignified behaviour of the public men or it may be due to some injustice or maltreatment meted out to people of different section of the society or it may the general result of dissatisfaction in the society. But the main cause of the student's unrest could be located in the educational institutions. The really intelligent student does not get a challenging curriculum or activities in their universities. The faculty does not make any effort to provide the students facilities which may help to satisfy their physical and mental needs.

Our educational institutions have not been quick enough to provide diversified courses suited to their aptitude and interests. Moreover, the elders have no patience to use the democratic means to sit down with the students and discuss the problems. It may be found that the leaders of the students who are also intellectually above average do not understand the problems and come to a happy compromise. But no-where in the world do the elders sit with the young on equal footing to discuss matters. When peaceful means are denied to them, naturally the students are bound to resort to violent disturbances.

Our educationists have to think afresh on the problems of imparting education to the young. The old methods of teaching and way of behaviour towards the students have got to be replaced by new methods and approaches. The acceleration of change all over the world has been very rapid. The requirement of this very fast changing societies have created new problem and challenges for the educationists. The results of the students' unrest specially of the brilliant as leaders should make us think that we have not been able to meet the challenges. How could they be met? Firstly, the enormous growth of knowledge with breaking up of separate disciplines and inter-relation between the different disciplines of knowledge have to be dealt with in a manner adequate to do justice to both the subject as well as to the pupil. To aggravate the problem

further, the importance and inevitability of specialisation has also to be taken into consideration. The educationist, therefore, has to experiment with new ways to adequately adjust himself to the new conditions created by the modern society. Any inadequacy on the part of education will lead to inadequate training to the young which will lead to further revolts. Moreover with in numerable variety of specifications it may not be difficult to provide the special kind of specialised job or training to a student according to his interest and aptitude. Therefore, there are enormous possibilities of ourselves being able to help each and every individual by satisfying his particular need in accordance with his interest and aptitude.

The educationists, even within a democratic set up, has to provide for the peculiar individual gifts that a student possesses. But for providing such an education it will be necessary to plan the whole educational programme on an altogether new base for no half-hearted measures would solve the new problems and challenges. It requires a bold imaginative and visionary step to meet the situation. Otherwise the world will be faced with the menace of Hippies, Beatles and anti-social out-bursts.

All these efforts of educating the gifted will fail if society does not implement the preamble to our constitution of offering equal opportunities and providing social and economic justice for all.

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Social Determinants of Delinquency

<div style="float:right">**6**</div>

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Delinquency is essentially a social medley caused by environmental factors in the particular community. Delinquency should rightly be called a "Home Industry", as the basic foundations of this social disease are laid, to begin with, in the home and later whatever other social factors there may be for the explanation of antisocial or delinquent acts these work more to make explicit what has been implicit or dormant. There cannot, however, be any other real basis to understand delinquent acts than on the basis of their social determinants. It appears, therefore, essential to understand what those possible social determinants are which are responsible for the various types of delinquent acts on the part of young boys and girls.

It may be said, to start with, that by delinquent acts is understood all such criminal activities such as stealing, burglary, pickpocketing. violence, truancy, tresspassing, sex crimes, arson etc., on the part of young boys and girls in their teens, which if committed by grown up adults would have made them liable for prosecution and legal action according to the law of the land. Crimes of this type are called delinquent acts when these are committed by minor boys and girls in their teens, which otherwise, are of the same gravity as, when committed by adults.

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The problems of juvenile delinquents is not a simple problem to be treated lightly as it involves thousands nad thousands of children and not just a few.

In n survey conducted by the Union Ministry of Education and published in 1954, it was made out that there were 40,119 juvenile offenders who were tried in the courts in the various States in the Indian Union (excluding U.P.). But these figures are extremely nominal and indicate only a small fraction of the magnitude of antisocial acts committed by young offenders.

Figures available from other countries about the young delinquents are also far less than the actual number of the delinquents going about in streets, schools, homes or else-where in the population. In U.S.A., for example, the number of delinquents is reported to be many times as great as the estimated 1% of the teen agers who are brought before the Juvenile courts each year. In U.K., it was estimated some time back that there were. 1,25,000 children deprived of normal home life. About 1,00,000 were involved in cases which were more or less like crimes and there were 23,000 divorces, leading to many children becoming homeless and thus making them antisocial. In this country also with a population of about 50 crores, the number of children showing antisocial behaviour or committing various crimes, as mentioned above, should be not a few thousands but a few millions.

These types of children who are likely and who actually commit antisocial acts are both actual delinquents and potential delinquents That is to say, some of these children commit crimes and are caught and are produced before courts whereas quite a few of them escape being apprehended by the Police and some of them even having been often apprehended are let off due to a number of reasons. Apart from these actual delinquents whether caught or released, there is a host of potential delinquents who go about in the population and who on finding an opportunity or being thus circumscribed would be quite disposed to commit criminal acts.

This makes it necessary to explain the meaning of delinquent character. Delinquent character formation is of the type in which

there is no stable system of values built up. In other words, the super-ego or conscience is of a very nebulous nature. Delinquent character formation is essentially characterized by this lack of inner check or what ordinarily is called conscience. When there is no fear outside and there is no check within, one is likely to commit crimes of any order easily. This is exactly what happens in the case of young delinquents.

This nebulous and weak super-ego or system of values (generally called as conscience) is built up by the process of what in psychology is called "introjection" i.e. to say by building up in the mind of the child the image of the moral and the social values of parents, guardians or other elders with whom the child lives in close relationship, and the system of values as held dear by these elders shapes the contents of the system of values or super-ego of the young. For this process of introjection or of imbibing the values of elders, there has to be identification between the youngsters and the elders and there has to be a social climate of friendliness, sympathy, love and affection between the children and the elders without which the process of identification and consequently of introjection becomes very difficult and not quite possible. Such an atmosphere of sympathy, confidence, trust, respect and of love and affection is the precondition for the youngster acquiring the system of values of elders or for the building up a stable super-ego. Many potential delinquents who have not yet committed any crime but who are quite disposed to the committing of crimes are such children who have such character formation in which the super-ego or the system of values is very feeble. This explains the position that there is such a large number of potential delinquents in addition to the actual delinquents who have been so declared or dealt with by courts and who are similar to the potential delinquents in their character formation,

When the social conditions in the home environments are such as do not allow the formation of a stable super-ego, the lack of which is the basic condition of delinquent act, it is quite apparent that the social climate in the home is basically responsible for the genesis of delinquency. When we talk of social determinants of delinquency we have to refer to these social conditions essentially in the home

which stand in the way of proper identification and introjection of the elders, may be parents, step-parents, uncle or aunt.

These social conditions of love and affection, acceptance, recognition, encouragement, friendliness and sympathy, in the presence of which stable super-ego formation takes place, are not available in the homes where the child is an orphan or mother or father have divorced or in the event of one parent having died the other brings in another marital partner, thus creating the step-child and step-parent situation. In some homes, the child may be born to the unwilling parents, and thus he may not be wanted. In some other homes due to employment of parents and other conditions the child may be neglected. Also the treatment meted out by some unthinking parents may be that of nagging, fault finding, punishing or of any other form of maltreatment. There are a number of such social conditions which are at the root of delinquent behaviour. It may be worth-while to examine some of these more important social factors in some greater details.

The comments that follow are largely based upon the results of a closer study of 140 delinquent children in the District Jail, and Childrens' Home at Delhi undertaken by the writer some years ago. As modern psychology has shown, the most important factor for the child's healthy development is affection and sense of security. Many times the child does not develop a stable system of values if the climate in the home is such as does not allow the necessary dose of love and affection. Also the child is quite confused if there is inconsistent disciplining by weak and whimsical parents who sometimes are indulgent and sometimes are restricting, severe and harsh. In such a situation, not only the super-ego in the child grows defective and weak but the self or the ego, also remains crippled, always looking to others for help. Such children feel insecure, as there is no consistent relationship between them and the parents. They have no appreciation of their powers and weaknesses in relationship with the external reality and they have not learnt to subordinate their pleasure seeking impulses to more abiding or lasting gains. The result is that such a confused and insecure child having been the victim of inconsistent discipline comes in clash with the world outside leading to the aggressive and antisocial behaviour patterns.

The want of calm, liberal and democratic type of discipline, severity and harshness within the home also contribute to the formation of latent delinquents. With very rigid and dominating parents who maltreat the child, the child acquires a degree of severity in himself and such a dominating child out-worldly is courteous, obedient ond quiet but deeper still he is troubled and rebellious. Not having much freedom in thought and action and having been mostly nagged and criticized, he does not develop confidence, initiative and resourcefullness.

Some parents have very indulgent and passive attitude towards children as towards personal property. These too anxious and indulgent parents do not allow children to exercise their hands and limbs and do every thing for them. They do not allow them to play in the streets with other children with the fear that some harm may be done to them as if every dog bites and every cow is a bull. Such anxious and nervous treatment and making so much fuss on minor ailments makes children feel that they are weak, sick and not quite alright and that there is something wrong with them. This festers a sense of inadequacy, lack of confidence and they almost feel to lean on others for ever and to walk on crutches, as it where, as they have not been made to learn how to walk on their feet. These children do not grow with steady super-ego and have even a weak ego and these could easily he exploited hy more aggressive companions to relapse into acts of delinquency.

In the study taken up by the writer, it was found that a large majority of delinquents were the victims of maltreatment by parents. step parents, guardians or other elders they have to live with. It is no use citing many examples here of such cases of maltreatment resulting into delinquent behaviour. In a case, for example, of an orphan boy, who ran away from his home because his elder brother beat him as he had lost a goat while grazing them in the forest, the boy went to a town where after spending some days with scanty food, he was caught by the Police when he tried to run away with the cloths of a bather on Jamna Gbat in order to sell them away to buy some thing and satisfy his hunger. There are so many cases of youngsters running away from home because of bullying, beating and barash treatment by step-parents, aunt or uncle, elder brother

other adults with whom the child is forced by circumstances to live.

Some children leave the home and play truant because of jealousy towards the step-brother or sister or towards their own younger brother or sister, as they feel "dethroned" when the interest of parents shifts to the young child. In some cases the jealousy or hostility was also against authority of some elder member who deprived them of certain rights and privileges and the antisocial acts were committed to wreak revenge and to express their deep resentment towards such high-handedness. There was the case of a strongly built boy who was living with his uncle, as his parents had died. This uncle of his wanted to get rid of him in order to be the sole master of the boy's share in the joint family property and so he maltreated him even by depriving him of proper food. The conditions becoming intolerable, the boy left home with whatever ornaments of aunt he would collect and for some time he lived by selling the ornaments. Ultimately not finding any means to live on, he tried to break-open the Post Office not only to get some money to live on but also to wreak revenge, in his own way, on cruel society which could not protect his legitimate rights. He was, however, apprehended by the Police in the attempt and was serving a sentence in the District Jail when he was interviewed by the author.

In some cases delinquent behaviour is caused by the social conditions in a broken home. The broken home may be due to divorce, re-marriage, as it is more common in America and other European countries and not so much in India. However, the genesis of delinquency in a broken home lies not so much in the separation, divorce or re-marriage by parents but by the condition of neglect, tension, insecurity, confusion about the future and the break in the normal life and the routine the child was used to. A child separated from or deserted by the parents is like undergoing an operation when he feels as if he is cut off from the parent as the limb is cut off from the body. The life of the child in such cases of desertion ceases to be truely human and if it does not actually become atrophied physically like the cut off limb, his normal growth is drastically interfered with. Such children failing to have persons even as substituting the parents

are emotionally starved and are easily drive to a life of crime or antisocial acts.

Similar is the fate of many neglected, rejected or unwanted children. Some children are left by widow mothers going away with some body else or by widower fathers having another wife. Quite a few such cases in the study made by the writer were such as were left on railway station or in a crowed bazar.

Quite a few of the youngsters who were found to have indulged in antisocial acts play truant from home because they find the home environment dull, monotonous and un-interesting with no new experiences and with no scope of satisfying the natural urge for adventure. Children long for security, recognition, new experience and adventure. Some children play truants from homes of this type and fall in bad hands and are obliged to indulge in criminal activities. In the study made by the writer quite a few of the delinquents came from hilly areas as the dull environments in the hilly areas like Gharwal, Tehri, Almohra, Kangra, failed to satisfy the curiosity, sense of adventure and some bright ones at least, finding the work there boring easily are attracted for a life of adventure and fun on the plains. On the suggestion of some companion, they run away from homes. Such youngsters not always finding jobs are obliged to think of robbery, pick-pocketing and such other octivities. There are some cases of delinquent behaviour caused mainly by boredom, lack of freedom, independence and opportunites of new experiences in the outside world.

In some offenders the chief precipitating cause of their delinquent behaviour was their lack of adjustment in the school. Some children in schools are not given the work in the class according to their ability. Children in this country, as all know, are put together in schools and are not placed in the grade suited to their capacity and needs. Such children not making adequate progress are frustrated in their sense of achievement which deepens their sense of inferiority and guilt. On the top of that the harsh treatment on the part of the un-understanding teachers adds iosults to injury and such children, feeling completely demoralised, become desparate and play

truants. School failure is highly corelated with the incidence of delinquency. In most of Indian schools teaching is made worst by dominance of the class teacher who rules his kingdom, as it were, with a rod and his will is law. Class room procedures are here generally autocratic and the chief virtues in children are considered to be orderliness, slience and conformity to backwardness. They often cause behavioural problems leading to antisocial acts which arise not only from the lack of understanding and the wrong choice of subjects but also due to wrong handing and approach to children by teachers and the faulty method of teaching.

Of course, in many cases of delinquent behaviour in the school there is no doubt about the anti-social character formation with which the child goes to school. Lack of adjustment in the school serves as a precipitating cause. In a normal child, the control over his impulses goes impereceptably even when in the school and the ego gets strength through intellectual achievement and the super-ego also gets stronger by new identifications with other personalities in the body of teachers or heros read in books. But in a child with antisocial character formation developed from early days in the home, there is hardly any wish to be good nor is there any energy in him to make progress in studies. The community life in school does not offer him any pleasure and his school life is mostly of frustration and he plays truant and commits some offences. Such children are ruled by momentary pleasures and they have not learnt to forego timely pleasures for some more abiding gains in the future, so it is found that in many cases high or low intelligence as such or the bad treatment of the teacher or the faulty methods of teaching as prevalent in most of our schools, are secondary causes which help in bringing up the latent antisocial character formation developed in the close contact with parents and other members of family. To trace the genesis of delinquence, therefore, one has ultimately to go to the early developmental history of the child in the home.

Sometimes parents as guardians argue and protest that their child or ward committed the delinquent act because of the influence of bad companions and they try to protest that the child was all-

right and that he just got into bad company. Of course, bad companionship acts as an important factor in the explanation of the delinquent behaviour, but it is more a precipitating cause and the potential deliquency is already built up in the child's mental make-up and bad company only serves as a catalytic agent, as such a child is easily influenced by suggestions from companions for rebellious and antisocial acts.

Some children commit crime themselves but in most cases delinquent activities are committed by children in companionship with others. Gang formation is a usual adolescent phenomenon to find opportunity for amusement and adventure and to escape from certain adversities of life. Delinquents too usually have their antisocial acts. As they are usually of weak ego information they are afraid of committing offences all alone and feel secure if there is some body else siding with them. Many truants from home or school have their companions or instigators. It was estimated in the study conducted by the writer that about 60% of the offenders. had companions in their antisocial activities of one sort or the other Other authorities also quote the percentage of companionship for delinquent acts to the extent of 80 to 90 %. Companionship even encourages the committing of crimes. A single individual is afraid of failing in a false situation and is often aware of the consequences if caught but in the company of other one he feels reassured that if caught he would not be the only one punished and he even gladly follows the criminal practice subconsciously even to give expression to his stored up aggression and rebellion. His antisocial character formation is only waiting for a companion who helps in echaning the latent delinquency into manifest delinquency.

Such a child with antisocial character formation on finding job usually cannot and does not carry on with it for long as he is not able to bear the inconvenience of doing his duty as an employee. Such people with delinquent character formation live more on the "pleasure principle" as called by Freud. They live from moment to moment, seeking fleeting gratification of impulses and they cannot put up with the un-pleasantness of duty required for the job. Such individuals must have satisfaction there and then as so many

mouth fulls and in many cases such youngsters come in, clash with the employer, leave the job in a fit of anger arising out of the unpleasantness in doing the duty which to them is unbearable and frustrating in their momentary pleasure. Such youngsters shift from job to job and thus being often out of job easily follow the road of antisocial behaviour. They want easy money and the quick gains and thus begin to steal and to wreak revenge even against his employer they even try to rob him. Thus unemployment or uncongential working conditions as some form of social factors also add to the incidence of delinquency. Ill treatment by the employers, hard work, lack of leisure, loneliness in the absence of other companions help in bringing up the implicit, antisocial tendency into explicit deliquency. The percentage of such cases is, however, small yet; bad working conditions and unemployment serve as precipitating or secondary causes.

Education, Social Structure and Democracy in India

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By

Victor S. D.' Souza

There is an intimate relationship between education and social structure because of the connection of both with occupation. For our purpose social structure may be broadly defined as the ordered arrangement of roles played by the different members of society. The roles of members are determined to a large extent by their occupations. On the other hand there is a close connection between the occupation and education of a person. In this manner education and social structure are correlated.

However, the causal connection between education and social structure varies from society to society. At one extreme we can think of societies in which education is a dependent variable and social structure is an independent one. In such societies the occupational roles of members are ascribed by the society and the members receive education which is necessary to fit them for their predetermined occupations. At the other extreme, we may conceive of societies in which education is an independent variable and social structure a dependent one. In these societies a person receives his education according to his capacity and not according to his or his parent's position in the social structure, and achieves the occupation suited to his qualifications.

The first kind of causal connection in which education is the dependent variable of social structure can be obtained in societies following the hereditary principle as a basis of social organization. The second kind of causal connection in which education is the independent variable is the ideal of a democratic society, where the

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individual should have the freedom and opportunity of securing education according to his capacity. However, in reality, the two extreme kinds of causal connection between education and social structure are rarely to be met with in any society and different societies combine both the kinds in inverse proportions.

The social organization in the traditional Indian society was based mainly on the herditary principle. The members were divided into bereditary caste groups each with its traditional occupation. A person's occupation, therefore, was ascribed to him by society and be received the kind of education and training which was necessary to equip him for his occupation.

The Indian constitution now upholds the democratic principle of social organization. Democracy stands for some kind of equality among individuals. Social equality may be broadly divided into two types, equality of conditions and equality of opportunities. Equality of conditions, whereby the incomes, living conditions, prestige etc., of all individuals are equalised, has been found to be neither feasible nor desirable from the point of view of the efficient functioning of society. Therefore, the main aim of democracy is limited towards securing equality of opportunity whereby persons should receive social rigbts and privileges according to their capacity, ability and function. Therefore, in so far as democracy applies to social structure it does not mean the equalization of occupational roles or prestige hut the equalization of opportunities for securing occupations according to qualifications of children should receive education according to their capacities and not according to the occupational roles or positions s social structure of their parents. The goal of the Indian society, therefore, is to render education an independent variable and social structure a dependent one.

As a matter of fact, the herditary basis of education and occupation had started losing its hold in the Indian society even before he adoption of secular democracy as a political ideology. Tne adent of the British rule with its western ideology and the gradual ndustrialization of the economy, gave a great hlow to the heredi-ary principle. All the same, to a large extent, the new changes ave heen adjusted to the old social structure. For instance, when

a new type of education was introduced by the British Government, the people who were already in occupational position were the first ones to take advantage of the new opportunities. Consequently the better occupations among the new ones went to the share of those who were occupying higher positions under the old set up. So the relative social positions of people in the new social structure were disturbed very little, if at all. In this manner, the institutionalised social inequalities tended to be perpetuated.

The purpose of this paper is to point out the kind of correlation existing between social structure and educational opportunity to enable us to better understand the nature of problems involved in bringing about equality of educational opportunities. For a clearer exposition, education may be divided into three broad aspects : (1) the degree of illiteracy, (2) the amount of education, and (3) the quality of education.

In the context of the Indian society, the main aspects of social structure to be kept in view are the caste and the class systems. Caste system may be defined as the integration of interacting endogamous groups into a structure of status hierarchy. In the traditional Indian society, a community was divided into a number of endogamous groups or intermarrying circles called castes. Members in each caste group followed the same hereditary occupation and were socio-economically homogeneous. These groups were graded in a hierarchy of social prestige. The caste stratification is found even now in almost every Indian community defined in terms of locality, but the degree of its rigidity varies from community to community.

The class system, on the other hand, may be described as the division of society into different prestige category or classes. Usually, it is the prestige of the occupations followed by person which determine their position in the class system irrespective of the castes to which they belong. Therefore, in this study the prestige of occupations has been adopted as a measure of class background.

Both caste and class systems, through their connection with occupations, may also be interrelated and where both are operating as in the case of urban and industrial communities the member of

the lower castes are over represented in the lower classes and those of the higher castes in the higher classes.

Caste and class are not the only factors, to be sure, which are associated with education. Among the other variables which also affect education, sex difference and rural-urban differences may be regarded as important ones. But it is proposed to consider here the influence of mainly caste and class and the effect of other factors will be dealt with wherever convenient.

The hypotheses which emerge from this discussion are : (a) the lower the position of persons in the caste and the occupational hierarchy, the higher is the degree of their illiteracy. (b) The lower the position of persons in the caste and oecupational hierarchy, the lower is the amount of their education, and (c) The lower the position of persons in the caste and oecupational hierarchy, the lower is the quality of their education. In all these cases, caste and occupational hierarchies are taken to be the independent variables.

This study is mainly an exploratory one and therefore the data presented are intended to illustrate the hypotheses rather than substantiate them. They are also not intended to measure the degree of correlation.

The hypotheses (a) and (b) may be illustrated with data from the growing industrial community of Dandeli, North Kanara District (Mysore State) which the author studied in 1955-56. The entire resident population of 3110 of Dandeli was made up of migrants and their progeny who had immigrated during the past 40 years or so. The migrants had come from different linguistic regions, and belonged to the three major religous categories of Hindus, Muslim, Christians and to a large number of caste groups. For the convenience of analysis, in each religious category the caste groups have been arbitrarily classified into broader groupings so that the castes included in each grouping are socio-economically more homogeneous as compared to other groupings, considered from the traditional point of view. As most of the migrants had come from the rural areas, the traditional basis for grading them may be considered to be appropriate. These population groupings are arranged in the descending order of socio-economic status in each religious category.

For showing the causal connection between variables the educational background of adults and non-adults has been shown separately. Mere correlation between caste and education or class and education does not mean that caste and class are two independent variables. If it is shown that the correlation holds good in the successive generations it would mean that the position of parents in the social structures determines the education of their children.

In table I which shows the percentage distribution of the adult population of Dandeli aged 14 years and above, according to caste groupings and amount of education, we may first consider the percentage of illiterate persons in each population grouping. Illiteracy is very unevenly distributed in the caste groupings and, by and large, the lower the socio-economic standing of the caste grouping and hence the particular caste group the higher is the degree of illiteracy. The slightly better position of the Scheduled castes as compared with the Backward castes which latter occupy a higher position than the former in the traditional caste hierarchy, may be attributed to the relatively greater legal advantages given to the former for their educational uplift. The correlation between caste status and degree of illiteracy can be observed in every religious category.

Table II shows the percentage distribution of school age children (6-13 years) according to population grouping and whether or not they go to school. The children in this category who have never gone to school will turn out to be illiterate adults in due course. On the whole, it can be seen that relatively less children in each population grouping can be considered to be illiterate than their elders.

Table I

Percentage distribution of adtilts over 14 years of age by population groupings and amount of education

Caste Groupings	Illiterate	Upto 4th Standard	Upto 7th Standard	Upto 11th Standard	Matriculates	College, Technological or Professional	Total percentage	No.
Hindus								
Brahmins	11.0	19.5	33.1	15.9	12.5	7.9	100	197
Warrior and trading castes	38.9	36.3	15.6	3.9	3.9	1.3	100	77
Agricultural and allied castes	54.3	18.0	21.7	3.3	2.0	0.7	100	800
Artisans and allied castes	52.6	21.1	15.8	3.5	5.3	1.7	100	57
Backward castes	87.9	9.0	2.3	0.4	0.4	—	100	256
Scheduled castes	79.5	8.0	12.5	—	—	—	100	112
Muslims								
Karwar Muslims	32.4	40.2	22.6	3.4	0.8	0.5	100	204
Telugu Christians	68.2	17.0	11.8	2.5	0.5	—	100	87
Unspecified	50.0	16.6	13.9	8.3	5.6	5.6	100	36
Percentage	56.3	19.3	16.2	4.3	2.5	1.3	100	
Total No.	1085	372	313	81	47	24		1927

Table II

Percentage distribution of school age children (6—13)
according to population category and school going status

Caste Grouping	Going to Schools	Stopped going to school	Never going to school	Total percentage	No.
			School Going Status		
Hindu					
Brahmins	96.8	1.6	1.6	100	63
Warrior & trading castes	62.0	—	38.0	100	21
Agricultural & allied castes	69.1	—	10.0	100	10
Artisans and allied castes	90.0	—	10.0	100	10
Backward castes	42.7	1.3	56.0	100	75
Scheduled castes	58.8	5.9	35.3	100	17
Muslims					
Karwar Muslims	88.4	4.9	6.7	100	61
Other Muslims	60.8	8.7	30.5	100	69
Christians					
Kanara Christians	81.7	—	18.3	100	22
Telugu Christians	50.0	8.3	41.7	100	60
Unspecified	81.8	—	18.2	100	11
Total	68.1	3.7	28.2	100	461

All the same percentage of children who have never gone to school is unevenly distributed in the various population groupings. Although the variation in the percentages does not exactly follow the rank order of the caste groupings among the Hindus, it is abundantly clear that on the whole they are higher among the lower caste groupings. So also the percentages of children who have stopped going to school is higher among the lower castes. It is, however, worth noting that the correlation between caste and illiteracy is less marked in the case of non-adults than in the case of adults. We may, therefore, conclude that while caste background still acts as an important determinant of the degree of illiteracy, its rigid hold is beginning to loosen.

Tables III and IV pertain to the educational background regarding adults and school age children respectively classified according to the occupational grades of the heads of households. The first five occupational grades are arranged in the ascending order of their socio-economic prestige. The other occupational categories are not homogenous and so their order does not indicate any gradation. We may, therefore, confine our attention only to the first grades.

Table III

Percentage distribution of adults by occupational grade of heads of households and amount of education

Occupational Grade of Head of Household	Illiterate	Upto 4th standard	Upto 7th saturated	Upto 11th standard	Matriculates	Technical, Professional or Higher Education	Total percentage	No.
I. Unskilled Manual Labour	76.9	14.1	8.4	0.6	—	—	100	882
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	48.0	27.5	19.9	2.9	1.3	0.3	100	302
III. Skilled manual	45.0	27.0	1.9	7.4	2.1	1.6	100	189
IV. Clerical, teaching supervisory and related	17.6	18.1	30.4	15.8	13.2	4.9	100	227
V. Officers & Higher professions	5.6	13.9	13.9	25.0	16.7	25.0	100	36
Contractors	51.5	12.1	24.2	6.1	6.1	—	100	33
Trade and business	45.6	27.3	24.4	2.4	0.4	—	100	246
Miscellaneous	50.0	8.3	41.7	—	—	—	100	12
Percentage	56.3	19.3	16.2	4.3	2.5	1.3	100	
Total No.	1085	372	313	81	47	24		1927

Table IV

Percentage distribution of school age children (6—13) by occupational grade of Heads of Households and school going status

Occupational Grade of Heads of Household	Never gone to school	Discontinued	Going to school	Total percentage	Total No.
I. Unskilled Manual Labour	62.4	1.2	46	100	184
II. Semi-skilled and lowest administrative.	22.5	2.5	75	100	79
III. Skilled manual	4.8	2.2	93	100	46
IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory and related.	4.9	12.1	83	100	58
V. Officers and higher professions	—	—	100	100	8
Contractor	11.0	—	89	100	9
Trade and business	13.8	4.2	82	100	71
Miscellaneous	—	16.8	83	100	6
Total percentage	28.3	3.7	68	100	—
Total No.	130	17	314	—	461

In table III which deals with adults, we may first consider the percentage distribution of illiterate persons in the different occupational grades. There is conclusive evidence that literacy of adults is highly correlated with the occupational grades of heads of house-

holds. Lower the occupational grade, the greater is the percentage of illiterate persons. The same correlation holds good in the case of the school-age children also as can be seen from table IV. A striking feature of the education of children is that while in every occupational grade the degree of literacy of children is better than that of their elders, the improvement in the literacy of children is the most marked in occupational grade III. While the education of earners in this grade (not shown in the tables) is more or less of the same level as that of earners in grade II, their income is even higher than that of earners in grade IV. It is, therefore, not surprising that the level of literacy of children in grade III is even better than that of children.

We may next consider how social structure, namely, caste and occupational hierarchies are correlated with the amount of education in Dandeli. By amount of education, here, is meant the number of years one has received formal education or the number of successively higher examinations one has passed. The amount of education in Dendeli has been appropriately classified into broad categories as shown in Table I and III. From these tables, it is clear that while the amount of education is correlated with both caste and occupational hierarchies, its correlation is greater with the occupational hierarchy. Among the Hindu castes, for instance, the amount of education of the Artisans and allied castes is better than that in the category of Warrior, Trading. Agricultural and castes which traditionally occupied a higher caste status than the allied former category of castes. That is because in an urban-industrial setting the Artisan castes tend to acquire skilled occupations relatively more easily and consequently improve their educational background more. Even in the villages, the Artisan castes tend to give more education to their children than the Agricultural castes do. As indicated earlier, the relatively better educational background of the Scheduled castes with regard to amount of education is due to legal advantages.

However, the nature of causal connection between social structure and amount of education has not been clarified in this analysis. For this we should compare the education of children who have completed their education with those of their parents

according to their position in the social structure. This has not been done in this study. But a distribution of school-going children according to the standards they are studying (not shown in Tables) shows that the proportion of children in higher classes is correlated with the caste status and occupational status of parents. Higher the caste status and occupational status the greater is the proportion of children in the higher standards among the children who go to school. In the lower sections the children are either sent late to school or they fail more often in their examinations and so they drop out of school relatively earlier. It is, therefore, not too presumptuous to suggest that caste and occupational structures, especially the latter, are important determining factors of education.

Another aspect of the social structure, not shown in Tables, which also has a considerable influence on literacy and amount of education of the people of Dandeli is the sex difference. As in other parts of India, in Dandeli too, less attention is paid to the education of girls than of boys. For example, of the 130 school-age children who did not ever go to school, as many as 101 were girls as against 29 boys. Illiteracy is limited mainly to the lower socio-economic sections. Even among the higher sections in which all the school-age children are sent to school, the education of girls is neglected in so far as they are given a lesser amount of education. For instance, of the 30 persons above 14 years of age who were going to school only one was a girl.

It may be in order to dwell for a while upon the reasons in the case of some school-age children for not going to school. Table 5 shows the distribution of these children according to the occupational grades of heads of households and reasons for not going to school, mainly, lack of tradition, poverty, and household work. Of the 43 children who did not go to school for lack of tradition, 39 were girls and only 4 boys. All the 4 boys were in occupational grade I. Among the 29 who gave household work also as a reason the girls are in a great majority, being 24. On the other hand, among those who gave poverty as the reason the number of boys is much larger than it is in the other two categories, it being 15. Thus it would appear that the reasons for not going to school are somewhat different in the case of boys and girls. However,

TABLE 5

Distribution of School-age Children who have not gone to School by Occupational Grades of the Heads of Household and Reasons for not going to School.

Occupational grades of heads of Households	Reasons for not going to School					
	Lack of Tradition	Poverty	Household Work	Defective	Not Specified	Total
I. Uskilled Manual Labour	33	31	22	1	9	96
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	1	9	5	1	2	18
III. Skilled manual	—	—	2	—	—	2
V. Officers & higher professions	—	—	—	—	—	—
Contractors	—	1	—	—	—	1
Self-employeds	7	2	—	1	—	10
IV. Clerical, teaching supervisory & related	2	1	—	—	—	3
Total	43	44	29	3	11	130

they all stem from the same basic factor, namely, the low socio-economic position of the family. Ordinarily in such families both man and wife are required to work outside the home for a living. The children, therefore, are left to find for themselves. If there are several children in the house the older ones have to mind the younger ones. They have also to share the household chores. In this respect, the girls become an easier target. Therefore, despite the availability of schooling facilities there are tremendous obstacles in the way of children from poorer families going to school.

The reasons for the premature termination of studies of the 17 children are also more or less similar to those of children for not going to school. Seven of them left school on account of the poverty of their parents, four because of household work and two because their parents did not consider it necessary for them to continue. The remaining four children were going to school before they came to Dandeli and the change of place disturbed their educational career.

Finally, we may illustrate the hypothesis (c) which refers to the influence of social structure on the quality of education. Variation in the quality of education arises on account of the fact that the educational institutions found in a community are not always of a uniform standard. We may confine our attention only to the primary schools because they are equally important to all the sections of the group or the community. Even in these schools there is a wide difference in standards. Usually the better schools charge higher fees which are beyond the means of poorer sections. Consequently, people who occupy higher positions in the social structure and who can afford to pay provide better education to their children. In this way again, the social inequalities existing among parents are perpetuated among the children in a subtle manner. How this happens can be illustrated from a study conducted in Chandigarh.

Chandigarh is planned in several sectors in such a way that each sector is designed to form a subcommunity with all the neces-

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1. "Influence of Socio-economic Background in the Selection of school for Children." Unpublished Field-work Monograph submitted to the Punjab University in partial fulfilment of M.A. degree Examination in Sociology, 1962, by Krishna Kumari Katoch under the supervision of the author.

sary amentities of commuoity life such as a common market, school etc. Io most cases each sector has a Primary school or a High/ Higher Secoodary school with primary classes, each school with a modern building and spacious playgrounds. But the type of management, the medium of iostructioo aod the fees charged are not uniform in all schools. Therefore, it was hypothesised that even though the pareots are expected to send their children to schools in their own sector, they would select differeot schools according to their position in the social structure.

The students in the first standard were taken to be the universe of investigation. There were in all 21 schools having the first standard. Mainly on the basis of fees charged for the first standard, the schools were stratified into four types A,B,C, and D, aod seven schools were selected to represent the various strata. Out of the seven schools, a 20 per cent systematic sample consisting of 66 students in all was selected as shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6
Distribution of Sample by Characteristics of School

Type of School	No. of Schools	Type of Management	Medium of Instruction	Fees charged for First Standard	No. in the Sample
A	1	Private	English	25	9
B	2	Governmeot	English in one & Hindi io other	13	19
C	2	Private	Hiodi in ooe & Punjabi in other	8	16
D	2	Government	Hindi & Punjabi both	Free	22
Total	7				66

Assuming that the quality of education in the schools is roughly correlated with the amount of fees charged, the type A,B,C and D represent a hierarchy in that order, type A representing school of the highest standard and type D the lowest.

Table 7 shows the percentage distribution of the sample according to type of schools and caste background.

TABLE 7

Percentage distribution of the sample of children in the first standard according to caste categories and type of school. (Figure in brackets are numbers).

Caste categories	Type of School			
	A	B	C	D
Advanced castes	100 (9)	100 (19)	75 (12)	50 (11)
Other castes	—	—	25 (4)	50 (11)
Total	100 (9)	100 (19)	100 (16)	100 (22)

For *maximising numbers*, the 66 children are divided into two broad caste groupings. The priestly, warrior, trading and land-owning castes such as the Brahmins, Rajputs, Khatris, Aroras and Jats are included in the grouping of advanced castes and the castes of relatively lower socio-economic standing such as the artisan and the scheduled castes in the grouping of other castes. The two groupings thus form a broad status hierarchy. It is clear from the Table that the schools of the first two higher types are patronised exclusively by children from advanced castes and children from the other castes mostly attend the last type of school.

Table 8 shows the percentage distribution of the sample according to type of schools and occupational grades of their fathers, which are arbitrarily classified into four hierarchical grades. It can be seen that all but one child in the highest type of school belong to the highest grade of father's occupation. In the next higher type of schools the children's parents belong to

the first two grades of occupations. On the other hand, all the children from the lowest grade of father's occupation and most of the children from the next higher grade of occupations are in the lowest type of schools. It is evident that children whose parents follow the clerical and lower occupations have little or no chance at all of studying with children of parents following occupations of the first grade. It is noteworthy that the segregation existing between parents in other spheres of life is extended to their children in their school life.

TABLE 8

Percentage Distribution of the Sample of Children in First Standard According to Occupational Grades of Fathers and Type of School (Figures in brackets are numbers).

Occupational Grade	Type of School			
	A	B	C	D
I. Higher professions, business and managerial	88·9 (8)	31.6 (6)	12.5 (2)	—
II. Middle professions, business, managerial, & supervisory	11.1 (1)	68.4 (13)	68.8 (11)	22.7 (5)
III. Clerical, retail business, & lower administrative	—	—	18.8 (3)	40.9 (9)
IV. Unskilled, semiskilled and mental.	—	—	—	36.4 (8)
Total	100 (9)	100 (19)	100 (16)	100 (22)

There are also other factors in the quality of education provided to children. For instance, in the occupational grades I and II, it is also observed that the smaller the family the better is the type of school selected for the children. But it is chiefly the socio-economic background of parents which is responsible for the quality of education of children. If the school in the sector in which they live does not have a school which would fulfill their requirements the parents take the trouble of sending their children to schools in other sectors. Accordingly, we would expect to find that children in the

TABLE 9

Percentage Distribution of Children going to School in Sector Other than Own by Type of Reasons and Occupational Grades of Fathers (Figures in brackets are numbers).

Occupational Grades	Type of School				
	Better Education	No. of Schools in same Sector	Free Education	Lack of Accommodation in same Sector	Total
I. Higher professions, business & managerial	92.3 (12)	7.7 (1)	—	—	100 (13)
II Middle professions, business, managerial & supervisory	57.2 (12)	28.6 (6)	9.5 (2)	4.8 (1)	100 (21)
III Clerical, retail business, & lower administrative	33.3 (2)	33.3 (2)	33.3 (2)	—	100 (6)
IV Unskilled, semi-skilled & mental	—	—	100 (3)		100 (3)
Total	60.4 (26)	20.9 (9)	16.3 (7)	1.3 (1)	100 (43)

higher occupational grades of fathers would go more often to schools in other sectors than children in lower occupational grades. And sure enough the actual situation meets with the expectation. The percentages of parents sending their children to schools in other sectors are 75, 70, 50 and 37 respectively in occupational grades I, II III and IV.

The reasons given by parents for sending their children to schools in other sectors, as shown in Table 9, are also in confirmity with our expectation. The percentage of parents giving better education as the reason in each occupational grade goes on diminishing as we move downwards from the highest grade to the lowest grade where it is zero. In the highest grade, almost all parents who send their children to schools in other sectors do so for the sake of better education and in the lowest grade such parents do so for the sake of free education.

Thus it has been demonstrated that the caste and occupational background of parents influences the education of children as regards the degree of illiteracy, the amount of education and the quality of education. As regards the variables of degree of illiteracy and amount of education, a number of other studies in India which have examined the relationship between these variables on the one hand and aspects of social structure on the other, have also arrived at the same conclusion. Studies intended to find out the relationship between the quality of education and social structure are rather rare. But the data presented in this paper are in confirmity with the general conditions of life in India.

There is, however, nothing new in our findings. But a systematic exposition of the problem is useful for setting up priorities for the solution of the problem at different levels, for understanding the nature of obstacles at different levels and for devising suitable criteria for selecting the disadvantaged sections for preferential treatment necessary for the solution of the problem.

School Teacher As a Determinant of Educability in India : A Sociological Study

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Introduction

The problem of educability in case of school students is the whole crux of the institution of education in the contemporary Indian society. Innumerable factors—social, economic, cultural, political etc. are having their determining influence on educational possibilities of our school children manifestly or latently.

Of all these various factors, it is generally recognised that a teacher constitutes the most important factor. While a good teacher can be a very vital source of encouragement to a student in his educational career, it is likely that another teacher may be a very great hindrance to the educational development of the student. It has been generally observed by the author for years from close quaters that many of our school teachers, consciously or unconsciously, hinder the educability of the children in many ways. This observation has been corroborated by many parents whose children study in schools. So far no empirical study on this is available. Hence an effort has been made by the researcher to conduct an empirical study to find out the various ways by which the teachers prove themselves to be negative social determinant of the educability of school children. We have not touched the other side of the picture in which teaeber is a positive determinant of educability.

Method of study

This study is based on 286 critical incidents narrated by 165 boy and 121 girl students of two higher secondary schools in Delhi, collected in January 1969.

The boys' school is situated in an urban government colony of South Delhi. Most of the residents of the colony are government employees. The strength of the school is about 700 students.

The girls' school is situated in rural area of South Delhi. Most of the residents of the area are farmers. The strength of the school is about 150 students.

For the purpose of this study, Flanagan's critical incidents technique was used. The students of one section of each class present on the day of investigation were asked to write only one real incident each of their school life in which they felt that a teacher had behaved in a manner by which their motivation for studies was lessened or thwarted to an extent for which they felt very unhappy.

Analysis of data

   (a) *Background of the Respondents*

The background of our respondents is revealed by the tables that follow :

TABLE 1
Class-wise Distribution of the Respondents

Class	Boys	Girls	Total Students
VI	25	31	56
VII	27	21	48
VIII	29	24	53
IX	26	20	46
X	33	16	49
XI	25	9	34
Total	165	121	286

TABLE 2

Parental Occupation-wise Distribution of the Respondents

Occupation	Boys	Girls	Total
1. Agriculture	14	69	83
2. Business	15	18	33
3. Government service	113	21	134
4. Miscellaneous	23	13	36
Total	165	121	186

The above Table shows that the highest number of male respondents have come from the families of government servants, while the female respondents have come from those of the agriculturists.

TABLE 3

Religion-wise Distribution of the Respondents

Religion	Boys	Girls	Total
1. Hindu	129	102	231
2. Sikh	23	13	36'
3. Muslim	7	3	- 10
4. Christian	3	2	5
5. Other	3	1	4
Total	165	121	186

The above Table shows that majority of the respondents are Hindus.

Thirty-five boys and 13 girls, i.e. a total number of 38 students belonged to untouchable castes or communities.

TABLE 4

Residence-wise Distribution of the Respondents

Place	Boys	Girls	Total
Rural	26	131	147
Urban	139	Nil	139
Total	165	121	286

TABLE 5

Parental Income-wise Distribution of the Respondents

Income Group	Boys	Girls	Total
Rs. 1—100	8	5	13
Rs. 101—200	12	11	23
Rs. 201—300	17	14	31
Rs. 301—400	52	39	91
Rs. 401—500	43	35	78
Rs. 501—600	19	15	34
Rs. 601—Above	14	2	16
Total	165	121	286

The above Table shows that the maximum number of boys as well as the girls in our sample belonged to the income groups of Rs. 301—400 and 401—500.

(b) *Factors Hindering Students' Educability* : *Critical Incidents Analyzed.*

I. *Home Work* :

Thirty-two percent students mentioned that teachers gave home-work without explaining it properly, but they would punish them badly for not doing or doing it incorrectly. Thus for example :

"Once I did not do the home-work as I was not knowing how to do it. But the teacher paid no attention to my inability and punished me severely. I was so much afraid of him on that day that for several days I did not go to the school" (Boy ; class VIII).

In the incident mentioned by 15% girl students, it was revealed that home-work was of course given, but not corrected regularly.

About 3% of the incidents given by the boys showed that so much home-work was given to them that it almost killed their very motivation for the subject.

2. Disbelief in Student's Statements :

In the incidents mentioned by 9% respondents, it was revealed that some of their teachers did not believe in their statements, although they had made true statements. The teachers punished them unjustly, as is shown by the following incident :

"Once our class teacher asked the students to contribute Rs. 2 each for the Flood Relief Fund. I asked my mother for the money, but she could not give it because she did not have the money on that day. The next day I was punished by the teacher and asked not to attend the class on that day". (Girl ; class VIII).

Possibly the teacher was labouring under the illusion that the student was able to pay the contribution but she intentionally avoided paying it or was careless not to bring it.

3. Casteism :

Fourteen percent respondents said that the teachers favoured the students of their own castes. They also looked down upon those who has come untouchable castes. A student has indicated thus :

"I was the best student in class V. Once a competition was held for the award of scholarship. I was awarded less marks in comparison to another student who belonged to the caste of the teacher. That student was sent for the competition and I was detained. That painful event can not be forgotten by me". (Boy ; class X)

4. Compulsion for engaging private tutor :

Sixteen percent boys mentioned that teachers harassed them for engaging them as their private tutors. Approximately 7% engaged them as their tutors and found that they got more marks than what they had actually deserved. This is amply illustrated by the following case :

"When I was a student of class VIII, my class teacher pursuaded me again and again to engage him as a private tutor but my father did not permit me to do so. The result was that the teacher started punishing me for minor faults. Gradually I started taking less interest in his subject". (Boy ; class IX)

In another case, a student of class VIII stated :

"In class VI, I was forced to engage my class-teacher as private tutor. Afterwards, he never punished me and awarded me good marks in the class tests and passed the examination without labouring for it." (Boy ; class VIII)

5. *Class Prejudices :*

Seven percent students mentioned that their teachers favoured the students belonging to the families of rich people or high officials. The result was that the socially and economically lower placed students had to suffer from inferiority complex which stunted their normal growth as a student. A student of class VII lamented thus :

"I came from a poor family. My father is only a peon in an office. This is known to one of my teachers. He often rebukes me by saying that I can never be more than a peon in my life. Conversely he favours a student whose father is a senior officer". (Boy ; class VII).

6. *Unjust Punishment :*

Eight percent students narrated in their critical incidents that their teachers punished them too much for minor mistakes in the class. Not only did they pass derogatory remarks which hurt their feelings but they would inflict severe physical punishment as is testified by the following incident :

"In class VIII, there was one of my teachers who used to beat the boys very cruelly. Once I pronounced a word incorrectly in the class. He got infuriated immediately and beat me severely. So I started missing his periods." (Boy ; class X)

7. *Improper Marking of Answer books :*

About 5% students felt that the teachers who did not teach in the class properly gave marks very liberally. About 2% students had the impression that their teachers marked answerbooks very strictly although they had hardly covered the syllabus while teaching. An incident runs like this :

"In class IX my Mathematics teacher used to solve only one easy sum and then leave for us to do the whole exercise ourselves. In case we failed to solve any sum, he used to suggest—"Leave it and do the rest." But he never failed any of us and would invariably give us at least pass marks. I also passed in his subject in this way. I am very weak in it now". (Boy ; class X)

Another student cited this incident :

"My social-studies teacher rarely taught us in the class VII, but she used to examine the answer books very strictly. The result would be that most of us, including myself, failed in her subject, whenever she examined the answerbooks". (Girl ; class VIII)

8. *Too much reliance on monitors* :

About 3% students narrated that their monitors were previleged students. They used to beat and complain against the students whom they did not like whereas they did not complain against who were their friends. A student mentioned such a situation thus :

"My class-teacher relies a great deal on the monitor of our class. Often he makes false allegations against me and the teacher punishes me. I do not mind the punishment but I certainly mind as to why he unduely believes in the monitor who is also a student like us. Many-a-times I feel like not attending the class of such an unjust teacher". (Boy ; class VI)

9. *Severe Condemnation* :

About 4% students were of the opinion that some students were unduely praised and others were extremely condemned for almost a similar action. In the opinion of some students, teachers were completely apathetic towards them in both the situations.

A student presented his experience thus :

"My English teacher condemned me for bad hand writing very much. I often did not like to do the exercise owing to the fear that the teacher would rebuke me for my poor hand-writing". (Girl ; class VIII)

10. *Taking personal work* :

About three percent students mentioned that their teachers asked them to do some personal work. In return the teachers favoured the students in other ways. A student gave the following incidents :

"I used to bring milk and vegetable from my village free of cost to my teacher when I was in class V. The teacher liked me very much in comparison to other boys. He gave me good marks in spite of the fact that I had studied very little then". (Boy ; class VI)

TABLE 6.

Negative Variables of Teachers' Behaviour as Revealed by the
Critical Incidents Studied

Variables	Boys	Girls	Total	Percentage
1. Home Work	43	35	78	31%
2. Disbelief in students	17	9	26	9%
3. Casteism	24	18	42	14%
4. Class Prejudices	9	12	21	7%
5. Compulsion for engaging private tutors	36	12	48	16%
6. Unjust Punishment	14	10	24	8%
7. Improper marking	7	8	15	5%
8. Too much reliance on monitors	4	6	10	3%
9. Severe condemnation	5	7	12	4%
10. Taking personal work	6	4	10	3%
Total	165	121	286	100%

Conclusion

In this small study, we have tried to identify, on the basis of
286 critical incidents related by school students, the various
ways in which some of the school teachers deliberately or
undeliberately, hinder or lessen the educational possibilities of the
students.

The data substantially establishes that some teachers are not
performing their role conscientiously in their class-rooms mainly due
to three factors : (a) their lack of understanding of the cultural
and psychological backgrounds of the students ; (b) their disinte-
restedness and sense of irresponsibility; and (c) their cultural myopia
and class prejudices. These findings of our study certainly offer a
challenge to teachers and their professional organizations.

Neighbourhood School :
Its Importance and
Implications

9

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> "They believe in a 'good' education for their
> children, but look askance at the educational 'frills'
> some of their exuberant and generally more pros-
> perous neighbours constantly propose."
>
> —*William M. Dobriner.*

Pointing towards one of the major weaknesses of the existing
educational system in India, the Education Commission (1964-66)
remarks that education, "is tending to increase social segregation and
to perpetuate and widen class distinctions."[1] At a time when
communal and social discords are raising their evil, wild and shame-
less countenance in several parts of India, it is only befitting to talk
of a concept which can prove a panacea to the prevailing ills and
can provide an answer to the communal and social disharmony—a
danger graver than the external aggression.

In a country wedded to democratic ideals, secular aspirations,
and socialistic pattern of society, it looks anamolous that at pre-
school stage most of the educational expenditure is met by fees,[2] at

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1. *Report of the Indian Education Commission (1964-66).* New Delhi,
   Ministry of Education, Government of India.
2. The fees contributed 45.1%, 47.5%, and 39.7% of the total educa-
   tional expenditure on pre-school education for the years 1950-51,
   1955-56 and 1959-60 respectively.

exorbitant and prohibitive rates for a large section of the society. This may not look alarming to a psychologist for the child at this stage is mainly individualistic and social startification may not affect his development. At the primary stage most of the schools are managed by the Government and local bodies wherein the standards of education are decidedly inferior. At secondary stage a good number of schools are under the control of the voluntary enterprise and most of them charge heavy fees which are normally beyond every body's means. All this is segregation—free but poor primary schools for the bulk of the society and private, fee-charging but qualitatively better schools for a microscopic minority of the population. Such a social segregation, it goes without saying, is "undemocratic and inconsistent with the ideal of an egalitarian society."[2]

The Education Commission (1964-66), in order to resolve this anomaly of social segregation, recommends the establishment of a common school system and pleads for acceptance of the neighbourhood school idea. "The Neighbourhood School Concept", in the words of the Commission,[3] "implies that each school should be attended by all children in the neighbourhood irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic conditions or social status, so that there would be no segregation in schools."

Almost every sane educational thinker has reacted on this issue and on the whole the idea has been eulogised. But it is feared, the magnitude of the problems and implications involved in implementing concept in itself is not new to this world. In fact, the social, democratic and national way of life cannot be looked apart from social homogeneity and social cohesion. In Scotland, Burgh High Schools, product of the parish school system in force prior to 1872, show "all the children of the neighbourhood to share in a common and unsegregated experience."[4] Likewise while stressing a democratic ideal, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education declared in 1931 that the primary school should be "the common school of the whole population, so excellent and so generally esteemed that all parents desire their children to attend it."[5] In U.S.A.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

4. G. S. Osborne, *Scottish and English Schools*. London, Longmans, 1966, p. 73.

5. Report of Consultative Committee on Primary School, as quoted by A V. Judges (ed), *Looking Forward in Education*. London, Faber and Faber, 1955, p. 42.

also, there have been sociological studies which, "have helped give impetus to current programs in the schools to equalise educational opportunity for underprivileged children."[6] The Folk Schools of Denmark are too well-known to need any description. The spectacular progress in the U.S.S.R. is supposed to he due to the presence of the common school system of education.

Oddly enough, in India a system of education has been inherited which is a legacy of the alien rulers and is nothing more than a pale imitation of the British School System. The changed political, social, and cultural setting—even after 20 years of national rule has failed to permeat the educational scene. It is relevent now to introduce the neighbourhood school concept as this alone seems to he a remedy of the prevailing ailment.

The case for its justification can be made out on three foundations :

1. Political (constitutional) ;
2. Socio-economic ; and
3. Philosophical.

Political Foundations

A national system of education must be in harmony with the political and constitutional set up of a country. The following are the political premises which have educational implications:

(a) Free and compulsory education upto the age of 14 : Article 45 emphasises that universal suffrage is a farce without universal education and *all children*, irrespective of caste, creed and community, should be provided education until they complete the age of 14.

(b) Acceptance and adoption of democratic principles : Democracy, after independence, has been a way of life with us. The main provisions in the constitution in this regard are as follows :

(i) Equality of Opportunity—The preamble of the Indian Constitution provides for *all its citizens* "equality of status and of opportunity". Similarly, Article 15 presents a lucid exposition of the right of equality as one of the fundamental rights, inhibiting any discrimination against any citizen. *Clause (2) of the Article 22* endorses this right by stating :

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6. Cole S. Brembeck, *Social Foundations of Education* : A Cross cultural Approach. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1962, p. 184.

"No citizen shall be denied admission into any edu-
cational institution maintained by the State or receiv-
ing aid out of State funds on grounds only of
religion, race, caste, language or any of them."

To ensure equality Clases III and IV of Article 14 provide to
equip the ill-equipped and to subsidise the backward so as to enable
them to be on par with others.

(ii) Protection of the rights of minorities and weaker section
of the people : Article 30 provides for the safeguards for minorities
giving them rights for the establishment of institutions. This implies
that the minorities (religious and linguistic) can establish the
schools of their choice. Article 48 also protects and supports the
weaker sections of the people.

(iii) Secular National Outlook : The State is wholly detached
from religious dogmas and Article 28 justly lays stress on secularism
in political as well as educational field.

All these constitutional provisions are directly relevant to
social cohesion and education. They lay stress on establishing an
altogether different set of values and pose a challenge to education.

Socio-Economic Foundations

The peculiar political character of the Indian Republic and
socialistic pattern of the Indian society coupled with the present
economic set-up require a complete overhaul of the educational
system.

The oppressive and wide-spread poverty results in not only
serious lack of educational facilities but also a lack of desire
for education for a sufficiently large section of population. Besides,
the rural areas, that constitute a major part of the country, have
been neglected. On the other hand, the minority of the economi-
cally advanced population possesses the best facilities for the educa-
tion of their children and wards.

As stated above, the political set-up and the socialistic pattern
of society necessitate the elimination of social distinctions. Educa-
tion, in fact, has to act as a major socializing agent. It means
that a proper type of education should be the right of all and not
the privilege of a favoured few only. Equality of opportunity
in the true sense of the term must be provided. Ability and
aptitude, and not the social status, should be the measure for

admission to schools. This means that the public/model schools should be completely Indianized to meet the political, social and economic needs of the country and society. This is not to suggest that public schools are in any way an anti-thesis to democracy. Their programmes, their disciplines are only worth emulating by every institution worth the name. They are also the nurseries for future leadership of the country. But the social stratification has to be stopped there and no poor but academically talented child should be denied admission to such a public school. There may be an open test for admission and whosoever excels should be admitted. The poor should be subsidised by the State.

Philosophical Foundation

Education has to play a crucial role to mediate between change and tradition. It is not short of social revolution that education has to bring about. The social segregation in schools, it is believed, shall lead to social and communal disharmony in the immediate future.

He who plans to educate must first understand how traditions, beliefs and ideals come into being and how they are modified. The people's culture must be viewed in its totality. A sifting and sorting of cultural elements in terms of the current and anticipated needs of society is essential. In modern India, social equality is the major cultural trait and need, and education can be a patent factor in providing for such a social equality.

Implications of Neighbourhood School Concept

The foregoing discussion makes it evident that social segregation tagged with communal disharmony is neither in consonance with the Indian culture and traditions nor with the Indian political and social outlook and behaviour.

Now there is a question with a capital Q. If the neighbourhood school concept has to provide answer to the malady, what strategies should be adopted to implement this concept ?

It will be only in the fitness of things to see as to what the Education Commission has to say about it.

According to the Commission, the neighbourhood school concept is the ultimate answer to eliminate social segregation amongst children. This would make education, in the words of the Commission, "a powerful instrument of national development in general and social and national integration in particular." Besides, ·\-...

adoption of such a concept, the Commission reiterates, shall result in 'good' education to children because, "sharing life with the common people is, in our opinion, an essential ingredient of good education." This will also, according to the Commission, compel "the rich, privileged and powerful classes to take an interest in the system of public education and thereby bring about its early improvement." The Commission, without dilating upon the difficulties involved in adopting this concept, suggests that the work should be accomplished in a phased programme ; to raise the quality of the existing schools ; and to start a few pilot projects in selected areas where the community has a favourable attitude.

Difficulties

The implementation of the idea may give rise to some difficulties. It seems relevant to anticipate the difficulties which may make realization of a difficult task more difficult. Some of these difficulties are outlined as below :

The constitutional provisions, Articles 29 and 30, prohibit the State to compel all the children of the neighbourhood to attend a particular school. Appeals to conscience shall prove futile especially when the existing school is of subnormal standard.

Neighbourhood school concept implies uniformity in various facets of education. Shall this emphasis upon uniformity not sudden the leadership patterns in the school ? This will also curb, as pointed out by Sapra, initiative in schools experimenting with the new ideas and evolving their own patterns.

Financial impediments are so visible and vocal to need any elaboration or elucidation.

The resistance of the privileged class inspite of their lip-sympathy to the idea can prove ruinous and make the concept futile in itself. The neighbourhood school idea may meet the fate of Basic Education which inspite of official and non-official support has remained an "unborn child".

In short, though the neighbourhood school idea is eminently justified on political, socio-economic and philosophical foundations, it is feared that the efforts may result into a fiasco.

A Few Suggestions

What is the solution of this *impasse* ? Sentimental detachment

7. C.L. Sapra, "Common School System and the Neighbourhood School", *NIE Journal* Vol. I, No. 6, July 1967, pp. 10-13.

and reality approach may help a little. It is necessary as the Delhi Administration has started this scheme without improving the schools and which was vehemently criticised'. It goes without saying that the parents like to give the best education to their children. The privileged class cannot be denied, in the context of existing circumstances, the right to send their children to the institution of their choice. The establishment of neighbourhood school should not be considered as an alternative of the public schools. The problem demands to be attacked from various angles because a multipronged effort alone can solve this tangle.

The elimination of social segregation, it is believed, goes hand in hand with the quality of education. It is probably due to this fact that the Education Commission has laid stress on the improvement in quality of the existing schools. In England, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education held that the primary school should be ' the common school of the whole population, so excellent and so generally esteemed that all parents desire their children to attend it." It implies that mere quantitative expansion of education should now be slowed down. All our administrative energy and financial resources should be so utilised that schools, at least primary schools in the first instance, exhibit a noticeable change for the better to the parents. "Without better education", feels John, "our democracy itself is perilously poised between survival and extinction "' This may look to some as utopian. But imaginative administration and enlightened supervision at all levels, it is believed, can only deliver goods. If at the dawn of independence quantitative expansion posed a grave challenge and the challenge could be faced boldly with certain measure of success, how is it that now the administrators will not be capable of achieving the qualitative improvement? Qualitative improvement, it is hoped, shall be taken not only as a challenging task but also as an exhilarating opportunity.

If the rich parents feel a change in the general set-up of the school, they will not hesitate to send their children to these schools. Most of the rich parents send their children to the costly

8. An Article by Mohinder Singh, *The Hindustan Times*, June 21, 1967.

9. V.V. John, "The School and the Community Summing-up", *NIE Journal* (Vol. I, No. 6) July 1967, p. 60.

(use of the world public/model is intentionally avoided) schools more because they are qualitatively better schools.

It is futile, rather derogatory, to recognise those private independent schools which practise social segregation. The consideration that they are self-supporting and do not require financial assistance from the State should not be given much weight. It is imperative that schools which form part of the stream of common school system alone should survive. The direct as well as indirect pressures should be used to eliminate such schools which are just educational rackets. But this may not suffice. The independent schools, without any State aid, may still pose several difficulties. Appeal should be made to the conscience of the poor as well as the rich. The poor should not feel inferior (this will eventually result if they feel that their children receive education in quality schools) and the rich should feel that they are not living in aristocratic age and that they are living in a country wedded to the ideals of socialistic pattern of society. The political leaders and the teachers, it is needless to emphasise, can play a formidable and crucial role in initiating and introducing this social change.

To conclude, it can be said that the neighbourhood school concept looks like an EL-Dorado, the access to which is fraught with dangers and difficulties of recognizable magnitude. It is needless to point out that the efforts of all—political leaders, administrators, parents, teachers and students—alone can prove instrumental in resolving the difficulties and making the substantial realization of the dream, a reality.

Suggested Reading

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3. Judges, A.V. (Ed.) *Looking Forward in Education*. London, Faber and Faber, 1967.

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5. C I E., *Foundations of a National System of Education*, Pub. No. 32, Delhi, C.I E., 1959.

6. Saiyidain, K.G., *The Faith of an Educationalist*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965.

7. *NIE Journal*, (Vol. I. No. 6) July 1967,

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Democratic Decentralisation and its Impact on Education

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Background

Article 40 of the Constitution required the State "to take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government"[1].

In pursuance of this directive principle, the Community Development Blocks were created for rural administration all over India. In 1958, the Report of the Balwant Rai Mehta Study Team was published which gave a new momentum to the idea of Panchayat Raj. The State of Rajasthan was the first to introduce the Panchayat Raj scheme on October 2, 1959. Andhra was next to introduce it in January 1960. Gradually, all other states created Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads except Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Nagaland, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh[2]. Some of these states have accepted the Panchayat Raj in principle but elementary education is still retained by the State Government.

The Pattern in Rajasthan

Rajasthan adopted the pattern recommended by the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee without much modification. Therefore let us examine the Rajasthan-pattern of Panchayat Raj first in order to get an idea of the Panchayat Raj Administration.

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1. *Constitution of the Republic of India*, Article 40.
2. *The Education Commission* (1964-66), Para 18-15.

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There are three important bodies of the Panchayat Raj. At the base there is the Gram Panchayat. It consists of the elected members of the village with a Sarpanch as the chairman of the Gram Panchayat. They have very little control over educational matters except that they can keep an eye over the curricular activities of the village primary school[3]. They can also share policy formulation about the school premises and staff quarters because it is expected of the Gram Panchayats to share fifty percent of expenditure on the construction of school buildings.

The Sarpanch is authorised to allow a primary school teacher to leave the headquarters in anticipation of his leave being sanctioned.

The middle tier is known as the Panchayat Samiti. It is composed of all the Village Sarpanchs of the area. Representatives of special interests such as the scheduled castes, women etc. are co-opted if they do not happen to be elected members. The Chairman (known as Pradhan) is elected from amongst the members (elected as well as co-opted) by the majority vote of all the panchs of the area[4]. The Panchayat Samiti is the nucleus of all educational activities of the Panchayat Raj. Educational functions of the Panchayat Samiti as referred to in the Act are mentioned below :

(a) Maintenance of primary schools.

(b) Conversion of primary schools into basic schools.

(c) Scholarships and stipends to the students belonging to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes.

(d) Establishment of centres for information, recreation and community activities.

(e) Establishment of rural libraries and reading rooms.

(f) Organising social education activities such as *Balmandals*, *Yuwak Mandals* etc.[5]

The top tier is the Zila Parishad, which is constituted at the district level and is composed of all the Pradhans of the Panchayat

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3. *Report of the Team for the Study of Community Project and National Extension Services, Vol* I, Section 2 (Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report).

4. *The Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act* 1958 (Rajasthan), Section 8.

5. *Ibid*, Section 23.

Samitis in the District. The Collector and the Inspector of Schools, along with other district level officers are its ex-officio members. The Chairman (Pramukh) is elected from amongst the Pradhans or co-opted members by the Sarpanchs of the district.

The function of the Zila Parishad is to provide coordination, supervision and guidance to all the Panchayat Samitis in the district and to advise the State Government on matters related to the Panchayat Samitis.[6]

Other Patterns

Gujarat, Orissa, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh follow the Rajasthan pattern with differences in nomenclature *e.g.* Panchayat Samiti is known as Taluka Samiti in Gujarat and Kshetra Samiti in Uttar Pradesh.

In Maharashtra, education is under the Zila Parishads. Moreover, all educational institutions upto the secondary stage are maintained by the Zila Parishads. The Zila Parishads in Maharashtra enjoy much greater power and autonomy than in any other state. The Zila Parishads are empowered to grant "loans and scholarship" to students, to sanction grants to aided primary schools, to recommend the case of "private" secondary schools to the State Department of Education for grants and loans ; and also to provide equipment and play ground for schools.[7]

In Andhra, primary schools are maintained by the Panchayat Samitis while middle and secondary schools by the Zila Parishads. In Madras, Panchayat Unions maintain schools upto the middle school stage. Thus with few variations the pattern remains the same.

District Establishment Committees

To safeguard the interests of the employees, District Establishment Committee has been set up at the district level in Rajasthan and some other states.[8] It is composed of the Collector, the Zila Pramukh and one member from the Panchayat Samitis. The functions of the District Establishment Committee include transfer of employees of one Panchayat Samiti to another within the district, to take disciplinary action against the employees, and to

6. *Ibid*, Section 56.
7. *Maharashtra Act No. 5 of 1962*, Section 100, 1st Schedule entries, 24-29.
8. *The Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act 1949* (Rajasthan) Section 88.

recruit teachers and allot them to various Panchayat Samitis of its areas.[9]

Standing Committees of the Panchayat Samitis

A Panchayat Samiti functions through a number of standing committees. Some Samitis have created standing committees for educational while others perform educational functions through the Social Service Committee.

Financial arrangements

Systems of grants-in-aid to Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishad vary from state to-state. In Rajasthan, the State provides for 100 percent grant on account of salaries and allowances of teachers and a 50 percent of matching grant for all other expenditure on education.[10] In Gujarat and Andhra, however, the State pays cent-percent of deficit grant, which means all expenditure on elementary education minus local collection of educational cess, is paid out of Government treasury. In Madras, grants to Panchayat Unions are based on a slab system, which takes into consideration several factors such as land revenue, income from cess etc. Matching grants are given for a surcharge of cess levied by Panchayat Union.

The Managerial Staff

The roles, relationships and functions of the administrative staff in the Panchayat Raj also vary from state to state. In Rajasthan, the Vikas Adhikari, who is an employee of State and is a class II Officer, is the chief executive officer of the Panchayat Samiti. There are two Education Extension Officers of the rank of trained graduate teachers, who are also State Government employees, to look after the educational affairs of the Samiti. The services of the Vikas Adhikari and the E.E.Os. have been given on loan to Panchayat Samitis. They can be called back or transferred by the State Government. The E.E.Os. have dual relationship. Administratively, they work under the Vikas Adhikari, while technically they are under the District Inspector of Schools who is in the State services.

In Andhra also, the Block Development Officer is the chief executive of the Panchayat Samiti; but unlike Rajasthan, the inspecting officers of the Samiti are more fully under the control of the B.D.O One class II officer of the State Department of Education is

9. *Ibid.*
10. J.S Mehta, "Democratic Decentralisation", *The Indian Year Book of Education 1964*, Ch. 21, p. 458.

posted to each Zila Parishad as Deputy for Secondary Education, and he assists the Chairman of the Zila Parishad in the discharge of his duties.

As stated earlier, in Maharashtra, the Zila Parishad is the main executive body. A Chief Executive Officer of the rank of I.A.S. is the head of the managerial group. All the educational Officers upto the district level have been transferred to Zila Parishads. Thus decentralisation is complete in all respects in Maharashtra.

In Gujarat, there are independent Education Committees, one each at the district and the Taluka levels. There is very little organic relationship between the Education Committee and the total Panchayat Raj scheme, but there is a heirarchical relationship between the two committees at two levels referred to above. A class II Officer or the State looks after the general administration, supervision and inspection of elementary schools. Other subordinate inspecting officers are attached to the District Committee. A Government Officer of class III rank is the secretary of the Taluka Education Committee and he is responsible for starting new schools.

In Madras, the whole inspecting staff of State Department of Education has been retained under departmental control, while the erstwhile Social Education Officer is the administrative incharge of elementary schools.

Thus there are different ways in which the managerial staff incharge of educational affairs in the Panchayat Raj has been organised. Firstly, the whole inspecting staff belongs to the Panchayat Raj as in Maharashtra. Secondly, the whole inspecting staff belongs to the State Education Department as in Madras. Finally, the inspecting officers are under dual control as in Rajasthan and Orissa. All other States follow one of the three patterns of administration or a mixture of the two patterns mentioned above.

The Technical Staff-Teachers

"To whom should the teachers belong in the Panchayat Raj?" is a pertinent question. It has created several problems of human relations. In Rajasthan and several other states in which primary schools were directly managed by the State, the problem has become acute. In states like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madras and Uttar Pradesh where primary schools were formerly maintained by the

District Boards, teachers were not government servants. Their salaries already belonged to the local bodies, and therefore their transfer to Panchayat Raj service did not virtually effect their career. But in States like Rajasthan, where teachers formerly belonged to Government service and their counterparts in the urban areas are still considered Government employees, the whole position has changed. Before discussing the issues and problems let us make a brief survey of the organisation of teaching personnel in the Panchayat Raj.

In Rajasthan, teachers, who have been transferred to Panchayat Samitis still retain the right of getting themselves re-transferred to the State Department of Education, while all new recruitments are made at the distriet level through a high powered selection committee. The teachers are appointed by the Vikas Adhikari from amongst the list of selected candidates. The teachers enjoy the same privileges as Government teachers do. Their salary and service conditions are identical with Government teachers. They can also be promoted to higher posts in the State Education Department.

In Andhra also, the teachers are recruited at the district level, but they are appointed by the President of the Panchayat Samitis and not by the Vikas Adhikari. The authority of taking disciplinary action against teachers vests with the President of the Panchayat Samiti with a provision for appeal to Zila Parishad.

In Maharashtra, all powers regarding teachers' appointment, transfer, promotion, dismissal and punishment are exercised by the Zila Parishads.

In Gujarat, teachers are selected by a high power selection committee at the district level and appointed by the Secretary of the District Education Committee which controls service conditions of teachers.

In Madras, teachers are appointed by the Appointments Committee of the Panchayat Union consisting of the Commissioner, Chairman of the Union and an elected member. Powers of transfers, promotion, and punishment are vested in the Commissioner. Appeals against his orders can be made to the District Inspector of Schools.

In Orissa, the system of recruitment of teachers is the same as in Rajasthan except that the Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti is

empowered to transfer a teacher within the block in consultation
with the Sub-Inspector of Schools. The authority to appoint and
transfer teachers and to reward or punish them is many times
misused. Some states have taken adequate safeguards to avoid
possible dangers of partiality and corruption in matters of appoint-
ment, transfers and promotion. There are evidences of prevailing
malpractices of this nature even in Rajasthan, where the State
Government has taken adequate measures to safeguard the interests
of teachers[11]. The Naik Committee Report of Rajasthan[12] and the
Kothari Commission have also drawn attention to this problem. To
quote the words of the Commission:

"Their main weaknesses, however, are the harassment caused to
teachers through frequent transfers and postings, and through
involvement in local factions and politics. This is one reason, why
almost all teachers' associations have represented to us that the local
authorities should not be placed in charge of educational institu-
tions. This evil increases as the delegation of authority goes to
lower levels e.g. it is definitely greater when the authority is delega-
ted to the block level than to the district level"[13]

Another problem about teachers' service conditions is regard-
ing their future prospects. Some States have made provision for
transfer of Panchayat Raj teachers to departmental schools, when-
ever a teacher qualifies for promotion to a higher grade on the
basis of merit-cum-seniority, but in the majority of states this
provision does not exist. In States where only primary education
has been transferred to the Panchayat Raj, there is only a single
running grade for all teachers. A teachers has no chance of higher
promotion in the absence of a provision for transfer to state-owned
middle and secondary schools.

There are several other anomalies. In the urban areas,
teachers of primary schools belong to Government service and
enjoy certain privileges which a Government employee has and the
amenities and the pecuniary advantages which an urban area
provides. The Panchayat Raj teachers with equal qualifications

11. Parasmal, A Diagnosis of the Problems of Educational Administra-
tion in the Panchayat Raj, Unpublished M. Ed. dissertation of
Rajasthan University of 1962, P. 52 and pp. 133-104.
12. Report of Rajasthan State Primary Education Committee, Ch. V,
Paras 4 and 20.
13. Report of the Education Commission (1954-64), Para 18·12·

are denied these benefits. They have become bound to the rural areas for ever. They can neither educate their children in the secondary or high institutions nor can they supplement their income by tuitions. Some safeguards on the lines of Rajasthan will have to be provided in other states as well.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PANCHAYAT RAJ

Enrolment Drive

Some case studies of good Panchayat Samitis have shown that there has been an over all increase in the number of pupils attending the school e.g. in Panchayat Samiti, Simalwara (Rajasthan) there was an over all 92% increase in the enrolment as shown in the table[14] below :

Table I

Table showing Enrolment of Students Before and After Decentralisation in Panchayat Samiti, Simalwara.

	1959	1965	Percentage
Boys	2310	4449	49% increase
Girls	398	782	96% increase
Total	2708	5226	92% increase

In another study made by **G.L.** Laddva similar results have been shown.[15]

The findings of Sadiq Ali Report also confirm these results. The Committee has observed that as a result of "Shala Chalo" compaign the enrolment has definitely increased.

The Naik Committee has, however, observed that "it would be equally difficult to assert that the Panchayat Samitis have made a definite contribution to increasing the enrolment in primary schools or that they have risen to the expectations originally entertained in this behalf".[16]

The Naik Committee has further observed that "in some Panchayat Samitis depending upon the personal interest shown by the Pradhan and the Vikas Adhikaris, excellent results have been

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14. H.C. Dwivedi, The Impact of Decentralisation on the Primary Schools of Panchayat Samiti, Simalwara. M. Ed. Dissertation of Udaipur University, 1960, p. 19.

15. G.L. Laddva, The Role of the E.E.O. in the Changing Patterns of Society 1967 p. 69.

16. The Report of Rajasthan State Primary Education Committee (1963-64) Ch. V, Para 15.

obtained. In many others, however, the position has remained unsatisfactory".[17]

People are becoming conscious about the education of their children. It is still doubtful whether this consciousness is also the result of democratic decentralisation. Number of children in the schools would have increased even if decentralisation were not introduced. It may be true about some good Panchayat Samitis but the credit of overall increase cannot be given to the Panchayat Raj.

Attendance of Teachers

Another important achievement of decentralisation is the regularity of teachers' attendance. Formerly the teachers in remote areas used to be very often absent from duty and the inspecting officers had no means to check this. Now the Sarpanch of the village considers it his duty to see that the schools run regularly and the teachers attend their duties properly. Moreover, many village level officers as the B.D.O., the E.E.O., the Pradban etc. have begun to pay visits to primary schools.

There are also cases in which teachers established a happy personal equation with the Sarpanch and could afford to remain absent from duty for a long time.[18]

The Naik Committee has mentioned some more significant achievements of the Panchayat Raj. These are given below :[19]

1. In the past, the salaries of teachers were disbursed from district headquarters, whereas they are now disbursed from the Panchayat Samiti headquarters. Therefore, teachers get salaries regularly and promptly.

2. There has been the awakening for education among the rural public.

3. New leadership in the villages is emerging. Through a process of trial and error it has come into existence and it is giving a significant lead to the development of primary education.

One very significant contribution which has not been mentioned by the Naik Committee is the contribution of public in constructing school buildings. There has been a tremendous increase in the construction of school buildings with 25% of

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17. *Ibid*, Para 15.
18. Paramsmai, *Op. Cit.*
19. *The Naik Committee Report, Op. Cit*, Para 15·10.

public contribution and 75% of matching grant from the Government. To take an illustration of Simalwara Panchayat Samiti, the position is like this :

Table 11

Table showing the Comparative Statement of School Building Before and After Decentralisation in Panchayat Samiti, Simalwara

Type of building	1959	1965	Percentage
Pakka	5	23	36% increase
Kachcha	24	42	75% increase
Incomplete	4	4	Nil
Rented	2	1	50% increase
Unrented	8	1	87.5% decrease
Total	43	71	

The achievements of Panchayat Raj in its short history of 9 years are certainly commendable, but there are more serious problems which need immediate solution.

Clear Definition of Roles

Uptill now there has been a widespread confusion about the roles of various organs of the Panchayat Raj, particularly the roles of the institutional and managerial groups are very much overlapping. The institutional group consisting of elected members should have the role of policy formulation and approval of the budget, while the execution of policy should be left to the managerial group. It has been an unwise step in some states to delegate the powers to the Presidents of the Panchayat Samitis or the Zila Parishads. The elected members have party affiliations ; moreover they hold the position for a stipulated period only. Therefore, there are always dangers of misusing their positions. They should certainly work out the *principles governing appointments*, transfer, promotion etc., but the execution should be left to the bureaucratic machinery of the Panchayat Raj.

There is also a confusion about the roles of different personnel in the employment of Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads.

For example the roles of the Education Extension Officer or the Education Deputy or the Social Education Officer are not clearly defined. It is not clear whether these officers are expected to make academic inspections or they are administrative officers of the establishment clerks.

Human Relations

More acute is the problem of human relations. The position of the Education Extension Officer is in tension in Rajasthan. This officer belongs to the State Education Department, but his services have been lent to the Panchayat Samitis. He has to seek academic guidance from the District Inspector of Schools to whom he is responsible for primary education extension and improvement. On the other hand, his immediate administrative boss is the Vikas Adhikari who can write his confidential reports and can take disciplinary action against him. The E.E.O. has almost stopped doing his job smoothly under these circumstances. Some E.E.Os. interviewed by the author stated that they were engaged in the office routine and many other such activities which have no relation with education.

The District Inspector is expected to advise the Panchayat Samitis on educational matters, but many Inspectors complain that their advice is neither sought nor accepted.

The number of bosses for the teacher has increased so much that he is baffled about his own course of action. He does not know clearly as to whom he should obey. The Sarpanch, the Pradhan, the Pramukh, the E.E.O., the B.D.O., the District Inspector, the State Institute of Eduction and, of course, the Director of Education, are all so many officers whom he must obey and please. The primary school in the rural areas today has become a centre of political controversy. This has created widespread frustration among teachers. Their morale has been lowered and this has resulted into the deterioration of educational standards.

The Half-way House

The most important cause of anomalies and frustration in the Panchayat Raj is that in some States it is a half-way house. In Rajasthan, Orissa and West Bengal, Panchayat Samitis maintain only primary schools. Consequently, they cannot afford to have higher grades than trained matriculate's grade for teachers. The area of operation is so small that they cannot employ a class I or

class II officer to look after the *Education Department of the Samiti*. This results in maladministration and efficiency in work. An E.E.O., who has the status of trained graduate only, cannot assert before the Vikas Adhikari. Although he is a technical hand, yet he is never accepted as such. Moreover, he has his own limitations of ability, qualifications and experience. It is too much to expect from him that he will provide *expert guidance to teachers and advise the Vikas Adhikari and Panchayat Samiti members on academic matters.*

The next problem is about the grades. Teachers feel that their future careers are blocked in the Panchayat Samitis. They have to remain in the primary teachers' grade as long as they serve in the Panchayat Samiti or else they must be transferred to the schools run by State Department of Education. In Rajasthan, this provision exists. The overall effect of this is that all qualified and experienced teachers drain out the Panchayat Raj services. As soon as they increase their professional qualifications and become senior, they try to get themselves transferred to state-maintained schools. Consequently, only the under-qualified and novices remain in the Panchayat Raj schools.

Therefore, the Kothari Commission has rightly recommended that the unit of educational administration in the Panchayat Raj should be the district and not the block. Moreover, as a long range policy all school upto the secondary stage should be transferred to Zila Parishads,[20] so that they may maintain a fullfledged department of education at the district level and have lower and higher salary grades for teachers.

There is another anomaly. *The schools in the urban areas are maintained by the State Government, while those in the rural areas are under the Panchayat Raj.* This creates a frustration among the rural school teachers, because their counterparts with equal qualifications and experience enjoy greater security and better conditions of living than they have. There is no reason why the schools in the urban areas should not be transferred to municipalities. Some states have already done this, but there are many states where this anomaly persists. If decentralisation is to succeed it has

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20. The Education Commission (1964-66), Para 18, 17.

to be complete. Now the experimental stage has passed away and
it is time when we should make up our mind whether to make
it complete or to close down the experiment for good if it has been a
failure.

Local Authority for Education and Financial arrangements

It has been found that Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads
which are required to deal with affairs ranging from drains to brains
cannot do full justice to education. The dependent type of Educa-
tion Committee is too weak to assert its existence. The bulk of
the State grants to Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads comes for
educational purposes. Approximately 87·9% of their total Govern-
ment subsidy is meant for education alone.[21] Yet their interests are
shifted from education to other fields. There are cases in which
money from Government grant earmarked for primary education
was transferred to social education or any other head. Motives other
than education play important roles in policy making. At times
they are purely local and sectarian interests. The members of the
Panchayat Samitis are by and large semi-educated and are not used
to democratic behaviour in administration and finance. It was
expected of the Panchayat Raj institutions that they would contri-
bute materially to the increase in expenditure on primary education.
In Andhra and Maharashtra, they have been able to come to the
expectations, but in Rajasthan and some other states these hopes
could not be realised. It is true that good deal of public contribu-
tion was raised for construction work but such contribution used to
be raised almost to the same extent even before 1959. Very few
Panchayat Samitis levied educational taxes and also collected them.
Some levied the taxes but did not collect them.[22]

Suggestions

In order to improve educational administration in the Pancha-
yat Raj the following suggestions are made. These are based on
the recommendations of the Education Commission 1964-66, but in a
modified manner.

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21. See Rajasthan Budget for the year 1961-62.

22. *The Naik Committee Report*, Ch. V, Para, 15, 3.

1. An independent type of educational authority known as "District School Board" may be set up at the district level. This body may have representatives of Zila Parishads, State Department of Education and educationists of the area. This Board should work independently for education. All Government grants should come to the Board directly. It should have the authority to levy educational cess and collect money from other sources. All powers regarding appointment, transfer, promotion, reward and punishment should be vested in the bureaucratic machinery of the Board. The Board should be responsible to the State Ministry of Education, while the bureaucratic machinery to the Board as well as the Director of Education of the state.

2. Ultimately all educational institutions below the University stage should be transferred to the District Board, while the State should reserve the functions of policy formulation, co-ordination, maintenance of standards, evaluation of programmes and finance. The immediate goal in this respect should be to associate local commodities with their local schools and to make them responsible for the provision of all non-teacher costs with a matching grant from the State. Wherever the Panchayat Raj has already been established, all Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads should be required to set up educational committees with greater delegation of authority. The education committee should have at least 50 percent of its members from amongst teachers or persons connected with education. As an immediate measure, all middle schools should be transferred to the District School Board or the Zila Parishad as the case may be and gradually secondary schools may also be transferred.

3. In urban areas, small towns should be associated with the District School Board referred to above, while bigger Municipalities should have Municipal School Boards which should perform more or less the same functions as are recommended for the District School Board.

4. The Rajasthan pattern of grant-in-aid to Panchayat Raj should be adopted in all other states. Incentive grants to efficient

Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishads should be provided on a matching basis.

5. Teachers' recruitment, transfer, and promotion should be done by a special committee consisting of the Chairman of the Board, its secretary and the District Education Officer, subject to the rules framed by the State Government. Moreover, teachers under the local education authority should be considered at par with other Government employees. They should have the same privileges and service conditions as other Government employees in the State would have.

Educational Problems of the Tribal Communities of India

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11

Introduction

There are more than 600 Scheduled Tribes in India. According to Census, their total population is about 30 million.

Though found in almost all the States and Union Territories, the Scheduled Tribes have larger concentration in the following regions :

1. North-East region comprising of Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura.
2. Eastern and Central region comprising of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Paragana of Bihar, North and South West Orissa, South and South West Madhya Pradesh, and Agency areas of Andhra Pradesh.
3. West region comprising of parts of Maharashtra and parts of Gujarat and Rajasthan.

There are also several pockets with fairly good concentrations of the tribal population, for instance, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal, Nilgiri district of Madras etc.

Even outside these pockets and regions of concentration, the tribals are found in considerable number—mixed up with the non-tribal population in varying degrees.

these are likely to serve as models for smaller and less advanced tribes in future.

With this rapid appraisal of the socio-cultural setting of the tribes, it is now proposed to examine the specific questions connected with tribal education.

3. Type of education suitable to the tribals

There are several schools of thought in the country about what type of education is suitable to the tribal. At the one end, there are those who consider that modern type of education is harmful to the tribals. They point out that frequently the educated tribals tend to despise their own society and culture ; and that they are mostly lost to their own society community. They think that tribal education should be related to the realities of their life. The bulk of the tribal population are agriculturists in outlying areas and while some will move out of their surroundings, the majority will remain where they are. The objective of tribal education should, therefore, be two-fold, viz. cultural and technical. With reference to cultural aspect, an attempt should be made to instil respect for their own culture and value system while at the same time developing a sense of identity with the crucial symbols of national culture. With reference to technical aspect, adequate emphasis is to be given on simple skill in agriculture and crafts like carpentry, spinning, weaving etc. alongwith book knowledge, so that the tribal population may become self-reliant and can improve their condition of life without dependence on outsiders.

On the face of it, this approach seems to be quite sound, but there are many, specially among the educated sections of the more advanced tribal communities, who are suspicious of this approach. They think that this approach will perpetuate the backwardness of the tribal population. They point out that as some of the major industries are being established in the heart of the tribal areas, the isolation of tribal homes is quickly disappearing. In this context, it will not be possible to maintain integrity of tribal culture without sound technological and economic base ; and it is only with modern type of education that sound technological and economic base can be created. They are quick to point out that in Rourkela, Bhilai and other major project areas, few tribals could avail of the employment opportunities because of lack of general education or vocational education of appropriate level. The

protagonists of this school of thought are also anxious that the tribals should play more important role in the political and administrative set-up of the country, and they insist that highest priority should be given to imparting general education at the primary and secondary stages and technical and vocational education at the higher secondary and post-secondary stages. They have little sympathy for craft-oriented or craft-based education in the primary stage specially.

It, however, appears that the above two approaches are not irreconcilable. One is more group-oriented and the other is more individual-oriented ; and in any plan for education of the tribals, due recognition should be given to both. It is to be appreciated that if the general cultural and educational level of the community is very backward, the educated individuals would tend to drift away from the community whatever may be the type of education. On the other hand, in the present context of rapid national development, a tribal community is likely to get lost, unless it develops leadership from within, capable of appreciating the significance of what is taking place. Growth of educated elite is, therefore, a 'must' for any community to survive for a long time.

While translating the above perspective into action, due attention is to be given to the stage of development of the tribal community concerned and also to its aspiration-motivation pattern. For instance, it can be stated in a general way that training in agriculture or basic crafts in the primary and junior secondary stage of education does not satisfy the aspirations of the more advanced tribal communities ; and their response to such attempts have not always been very satisfactory. But, the position is entirely different in case of the more primitive tribes, like the Kutiya konds of Orissa, who just being persuaded to send their children to schools. Undoubtedly, they would feel more at home and find it more useful, if along with book education, some education is imparted in agriculture and crafts known to them.

It follows from the above that careful planning is necessary to determine the type of education appropriate for a particular group. Further, as already indicated, the group approach. Whatever be the type of education, an attempt should be made at every stage to pick up the meritorious students and provide them all the facilities for higher education. Such facilities should be in addition to the

common facilities provide to all tribal students. In fact, already several States have adopted the programme of making special arrangements for meritorious tribal students. While there is provision for exemption of tuition fee and payment of hostel charges for all the tribal students, meritorious students are picked up even at the primary stage for certain other facilities. In some States, such students are admitted in some specially earmarked good schools, they are given stipends at enhanced rates to cover all their expenses, including expenses for clothes, and arrangement is made to provide them tutorial help outside the school hours.

This seems to be a move in the right direction, but perhaps the coverage is not enough. If special facilities are made available to sufficiently large number of tribal students, to take up higher education in diverse fields, according to their attitude, the problem of creation of elites from amongst the tribal communities, would perhaps be met to a considerable extent. There is, however, a danger in the above programme, about which there should be more awareness. While implementing the programme, the general tendency is to lodge the tribal students in the hostels only, even where their homes are quite near the schools. In one school, it was observed that, the students were discouraged by the authorities to visit their homes even during the long vacations. The argument put forward in justification of such practice is that it is easier to ensure regularity of study for good students in hostel than in home. Perhaps, this is true ; but at the same time, there should be a conscious effort to see that the good students are not cut off from their homes or else the criticism so often levied against the harmful effect of modern education on tribal life will prove to be too correct.

4. Type of Institutions suitable to the tribals

Some of the tribal societies have primitive institutions of their own, which are to a certain extent functionally similar to modern schools, though their organisational pattern is entirely different. For illustration, a brief mention may be made of institution of branches dormitory or *dhumkuria* among the Oraons of Bihar. In more outlying Oraon villages, this institution exists even now. All the bachelors of the village belonging to the age of nine or so and above pass the night in the dormitory. They

are, however, required to go thrugh an initiation ceremony before they are admitted to the dormitory. Each dormitory has its recognized office-bearers and either they are elected from among the members or selected through supernatural means, according to local custom. The members of the dormitory are again divided into several age-groups, each age-group having certain prescribed duties. They learn the tribal lores and traditions in the dormitory. They are also required to undertake certain common services, for instance, they look after the village guests, render organised assistance during festivals, marriage, agricultural operations and other economic pursuits. There are similar institutions among many other tribes, for instance, *moshup* among the Adis of NEFA ; *morung* among the Nagas, *nokpante* among the Garos, *ghotuls* among the Muria Gonds.

It has been pointed out by many students of tribal societies, that greater progress could have been achieved in tribal education, had more attempt been made to utilize the primitive institutions described above, for the purpose of imparting modern education. There is some truth in it, but perhaps only to a limited extent. It should be appreciated that these dormitories were not merely institutions for preparing the tribal adolescents for adult life ; these were also effective economic institutions and defence institutions. There roles as centres for socialisation of the children were not always as obvious to the tribals themselves, as to the outside analysts. Hence, there is no certainty that if these institutions are adopted for modern education, the underlying logic will always be readily appreciated by the tribal communities concerned.

With the above reservation, it should, however, be admitted that *it is quite possible to adapt the pre-existing dormitory type of institution of the tribals for educational purposes.* In fact, it has already been done by several agencies. In Nagaland, the bachelor's dormitory or *morung* was originally discouraged by the Christian missionaries, but now they have changed their policy. In many villages *morung* buildings have been reconstructed through community efforts and there is a great deal of pressure on the Naga adolescents to attend their respective *morung* regularly and carry on their education under supervision. In Ranchi also, an attempt has been made by a social worker to utilise the *dhumkuria* institution of the Oraons for educational purposes. The details

of the experiment are not known, but it is understood that till
now no spectacular success has been achieved.

In several areas, the building of the dormitory type of institu-
tion have been utilized for the purpose of social education. It seem
that this attempt is likely to meet with greater success. In the
traditional tribal set-up wherever such institutions existed, they were
undoubtedly the most important focal points of community activi-
ties. In the changed context, they can perhaps serve as the centres
of reorienting community outlook and community interest without
much difficulty.

Coming to the new types of institutions, which have been
established in the tribal areas during last two decades or so, a spe-
cial mention is to be made of Asram schools or residential schools.
Such schools were first established by Thakkar Bapa in the fourties,
in Orissa and Gujrat to serve the special needs of the tribals. In
the fifties, Asram schools attracted attention of the workers enga-
ged in tribal welfare throughout the country and now there are such
institutioos for the tribals in several States.

The Asram schools vary from State to State in their organisa-
tional pattern, scope and function. For instance, in Orissa, they are
mostly State institutions under the direct control of the department
of tribal welfare. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, on the other
hand, these institutions are run by non-official organisations with
100% grant from the Government. There are, however, certain
distinctive features of the Asram schools. They are residential
schools with vocational bias, and there is a great deal of emphasis
on the corporate life of the institutions. The inmates organise
themselves into different work-groups for undertaking various activi-
ties connected with production of food, preparation of food, main-
tenance of cleanliness, reception of visitors, nursing of the sick,
social service in the neighbourhood, so on and so forth. Through all
these activities, which are to be undertaken by each inmate by
rotation, an informal atmosphere of intimate relationship prevails
in the Asram schools. In more outlying areas, such an atmosphere
is undoubtedly conducive to overcome the inhibition of the tribal
population about formal education.

There are several other advantages of Asram school education.
It is a known fact that tribal population generally live scattered in
small hamlets. As they do not live in viable number, it is very

difficult to provide normal educational facilities in small habitat. As a result, many tribal villages remain without any school. In such areas, existence of Asram school makes it possible to collect students from the surrounding villages and provide them the opportunities of education. Further, as all the expenses of the inmates, including expenses for food, clothes and books are borne by the institution, it becomes easier to persuade the parents to send their children to the school.

It is, however, to be noted that inspite of the above advantages, the Asram schools are not popular in all the areas and among all the tribes. These institutions are more popular among the more primitive tribes. In fact, in several areas it has been found that it is only through the Asram schools, that some headway could be made in spreading education among the most primitive tribes. They felt assured to send their chidren to the schools only because of the informal atmosphere maintained by the welfare workers connected with the schools. But even after the children joined the school, the need for personal contact and persuasion did not generally end. It can be stated in a general way that at the initial stage of spread of education among any community, education is looked upon as a queer novelty, rather than a necessity. It is no wonder that soon the children feel bored and try to give up their studies up with the active connivance of their parents. It is at [this stage that the personnel connected with the Asram schools were required to exercise all their skills of persuasion. They were required to visit not only the parents of the pupils, but also other tribal elders, repeatedly, to ensure the continuation of the study of the newly-recruited pupils.

The position stated above is, however, true mainly for the most primitive tribes. It is entirely different in case of the more advanced tribes. They are more anxious for general education of their children, and they feel that in the Asram schools the children do not get enough time for general education after undertaking the activities in connection with agriculture, preparation of food etc. As a result of this misgiving, the more advanced tribals are rather reluctant to send their children to Asram shools, if alternative means of education are available to them.

It seems that the Asram schools have played a very important role at a particular stage of development of tribal education. If at present, they are not as much useful, as sometime back, it is undoubtedly due to the change in the aspiration pattern of the more advanced tribals ; but perhaps change in the aspiration pattern of the tribals is only partly responsible There is the other side of the picture as well. In many of the Asram schools, a number of abuses have gradually crept in. In one State, the sale-proceeds of the agricultural commodities and craft goods produced by the inmates are required to be deposited in the treasury ; and if the amount is below a minimum fixed by the Government, the Head of the Institution is required to submit an explanation As a result of this, the students have to work under great pressure for producing more so and their education suffers. Even their craft education suffers. As they are to produce for sale, the teacher is anxious to avoid any wastage of raw material. The students, therefore, do only the manual unskilled part of the job and all skilled work is done by the teacher himself. Thus the students learn nothing.

The amount fixed for meeting the various expenses of the students is rather low in Asram schools. When the rates were fixed more than n decade ago, perhaps they were adequate. But afterwards, though the price-level has gone up by leaps and bounds, there has not been realistic adjustment of the rates in the Asram schools. Only nominal upward revisions have been made, but these are thoroughly inadequate. As a result of this, the students frequently suffer from malnutrition. In one Asram school, it was observed that competent medical authority had drawn pointed attention of the Government to this state of affairs.

Another serious defect which is found in many Asram schools, is indifference to tribal culture. In the crafts training, no attention is given to tribal designs. In music class, tribal music and tribal lores are more frequently than not completely ignored. In several Asram schools, there are wall paintings, but these hardly show any awareness of tribal designs and motifs. Frequently, the teachers do not know the language of the tribe concerned, and their knowledge about the social structure and cultural traditions of the tribe concerned, is often deplorable. In many Asram schools, specially those run is the non-official organizations, only vegetarian diet is allowed

where-as the tribes concerned are non-vegetarian in their normal food habit.

It is felt that if the Asram schools are to play useful role in the changed context, a serious attempt should be made to remove the above defect. One of the problems that the Asram schools are facing today is the problem of supervision. In some States, arrangement exists for periodical inspection of the Asram-schools by the regular inspecting staff of the Education Department, though the schools are under the administrative control of the Tribal Welfare Deptt. The arrangement does not appear to have worked satisfactorily primarily because the ordinary inspecting staff of the Education Department are not in a position to give any significant guidance due to lack of knowledge about the different aspects of this special type of institution. Inter-departmental rivalry has also proved to be another impediment in the healthy growth of these institutions. It seems necessary that more serious thought should be given to the organisation and working of the Asram schools.

5. Relation of tribal education to tribal culture

It has been pointed out by several scholars that content and organisation of tribal education is rarely related to tribal culture. The textbooks hardly draw their materials from the themes known to tribal culture. As a result of it, the tribal children start their education with unknown images. This is contrary to the basic principle of education, viz., that education should proceed from the known to the unknown.

It appears that there should not be very great difficulty in rectifying the above defect, specially in case of the numerically more important tribes. Without deviating from the common syllabus, textbooks can be written specially for them. Such textbooks should be related to their physical and cultural environment. Due recognition should be given to tribal history and tribal culture-heroes without ignoring the national history and national leaders.

Further, vacations in tribal areas should be adjusted to the festivals and social and economic activities of the tribals. There should also be active participation is some of the important festivals of the tribals. In other words, every attempt should be made to integrate the school in the society so that the school may cease to be symbol of outside intrusion and may become the rallying centre for new dynamism in the society.

6. Problem of the use of tribal language in education

Many of he tribal communities have distinct languages or dialects of their own and it is the declared policy of the Government of India as well as of the various State Governments that as far as possible, primary education of the tribals would be imparted through their mother tongue. In fact, Article 350 (A) of our Constitution has enjoined to provide adequate facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at the primary stage of education, to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.

Implementation of the above policy has rather been slow in most of the States for various reasons. A committee was appointed by the Government of West Bengal in 1956 to examine the various questions relating to tribal language. It was pointed out by the representatives of the tribals in the different parts of the State that their children were suffering in the following manner due to the fact that primary education was not imparted through their mother tongue.

(a) Comparatively poor enrolment of tribal students due to language difficulty.

(b) Commencement of primary education of the tribal children at higher age, mainly because of the fact that they feel diffident to attend the school before they attain at least some preliminary understanding of the regional language.

(c) Almost universal failure of tribal children to complete class I, in one year because of the fact that even after they commence going to school, they take at least one year to be sufficiently acquainted with the regional language.

(d) High [degree of absenteeism among the tribal children, because they find that the class lessons are unintelligible because of language difficulty.

(e) Frequent discontinuations of studies by the tribal students before completing the primary course.

(f) Frequent break with tribal society and culture in case of those who can complete their education.

On close examination, perhaps it would be found that some of the above phenomena are not necessarily due to the fact that

primary education is imparted through other than mother tongue. Economic factors and social factors might also be equally responsible. But it is important that many tribals feel in the way indicated above. In the interest of creating a healthy democratic atmosphere, it is necessary that the question relating to the tribal languages should be dealt with with a sense of urgency.

Use of tribal language in the primary stage may take any of the following forms—

(a) All textbooks including text-books of history, geography and arithmatic are to be written in the language of the tribe concerned and class teaching should also be through that language. The regional language may be introduced as a language subject from class III onwards.

(b) The text-books in the beginners' classes only are to be in the tribal language. The text-books from class III onwards may be in regional language, but the class lessons are to be imparted through the tribal language even in case of those subjects which may have text-books in the regional language. On the other hand, during the examination, the students are to be allowed to answer the questions in the tribal language or the regional lanuguage, according to their option.

(c) Except for the text-books in the language subject, other text-books are to be in the regional language and during examination the answers are to be written in the regional language. But the class lessons are to be imparted through the tribal language.

(d) The text-books are to be written in the regional language but the teacher should know the tribal language and should explain the contents of the text-books in the tribal laguage.

The exact form which the policy of use of tribal language in primary education would take depends on several factors, viz., numerical strength of the community and nature of its distribution, existence of separate script and written literature, extent of bilingualism and extent of borrowing from regional language, and attitude of the tribal elites. How the positions affected by the above factors is briefly indicated below.

(a) Numerical strength of the community and nature of its distribution—If the tribe is a small one and if its population lives interspersed with other population, it is obvious that it will not have viable number for recognition in the secondary stage. Hence, in the primary stage its dialect should be used as a bridge language for switching over to the regional language. But if the tribe is a fairly big one and if there is a region where practically the entire population belongs to that tribe, an altogether different approach would be necessary. The tribes like the Khasis, Garos and Lushais of Assam belong to this category. Recognition is to be given to their language even in the secondary stage in case of such tribes. Hence it is obvious that in the primary stage text-books in all the subjects should be in the tribal language. It is, of course, desirable that the official language of the State should also be taught as a language subject from class III onwards. The position is however a bit complicated in case of the very big tribes like the Santhals, Goads, Bhils etc. Though they are the dominant communities in several areas, they generally live interspersed with the general population. Their level of literacy is also not high; they, therefore, cannot provide enough number of students in the secondary schools established in their areas. Economically and otherwise also, they are very much dependent on the general population, and hence there is a real necessity for them to master the regional language. It is obvious that in case of such tribes, their language should be used as a bridge language, for switching over to the regional language. But even as bridge language, there would be some difference between the language of these tribes and none of the very tiny tribes living mixed up with other population. In case of the very tiny tribes the switch over should take place during the third year of the primary stage, whereas in the case of the tribes like the Santhals Gonds etc., the switch over may coincide with the completion of primary education. In fact in case of such tribes, their language should be taught as a language subject even in the secondary stage, provide that there are 40 or more students in the School.

(b) Existence of separate script and written literature. Some tribes, to wit the Khamtis of NEFA, the Bhutias of the Sub-Himalaya region, have separate scripts and written literature ; but most of the tribes do not have separate scripts of their own. During the last few decades, a number of books have, however, been writtten in many of those languages, specially by the Christian Missionaries, either in Roman script or in the respective regional script. In the post independence period, many books have also been written by the tribals themselves. But there has been hardly any uniform development in case of most of the tribal languages. For instance, Santhali is written in Roman, Bengali, Devnagri and Oriya scripts. Two more scripts have also been Innovated by some educated Santhals. There are diverse emotional and socio-cultural factors associated with each of these scripts and it has become very difficult to adopt any of them on a uniform basis. One major dilemmas that the Santhals face today is the conflict between *regionalism-vitribalism.* As already noted, the Santhals are found in several states. There is an influential section among them which thinks that it would be better for the community if the text books are written in the script of the respective region, because in that case they would be able to pick up the regional language also without much effort and this will be useful for practical purposes of life. On the other hand, there is an equally influential section which thioks that the Santhals in all the States should have a single script so that cultural unity of the tribe can be maintained. They, however, do not agree about the actual *script* to be selected on uniform basis. Some are in favour of Devnagri script. The new scripts innovated by a few educated Santhals do not appear to have become much popular. A compromise formula has also been suggested by many ; they suggest that in the primary stage the text books should be in the regional script, in the secondary stage the text books may be in any script, as in the secondary scripts in addition to regional script, creative literatures may also be in any of the scripts according

to the option of the author, as only those readers will be interested in creative literature who have gone upto the secondary stage.

The controversy has not yet been resolved ; but this appears to have retarded to a certain extent the pace of preparation of text-books and other literature in Santhali language. As a result, in absence of text books of satisfactory quality, use of Santhali in primary stage has mainly been confined to imparting the class lessons through Santhali language, whereas the text books are in the regional language. The problem discussed in some detail for the Santhals holds good in varying degrees in case of many other tribes.

(c) **Extent of bi-lingualism and extent of borrowing from contact languages :** The adult male population of most of the tribal communities generally speak a second language, very frequently the regional language, in addition to their mother tongue. In several areas they speak the regional language even in their homes. For instance in the tea plantation areas, of Assam and North Bengal, frequently the husband and wife speak the ancestral language among themselves, but they speak the regional language or Sadri (a corrupt admixture of Hindi and Mundari language with considerable borrowing from local language) with their children. In such cases it is desirable to differentiate between mother tongue and ancestral language or father tongue. Ancestral language is the language which is considered to be the mother tongue of the ancestors of a person in the father's line in case of partilineal people and mother's line in case of matrilineal people. But as defined by U.N.E.S.C.O , mother tongue is the language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought communication. It is obvious that in the tea plantations where the people belonging to Munda, Kharia and other tribes do not speak Mundari or Kharia etc. with their children, the mother tongue of the children is different from the ancestral tribal language. In such cases there is not much enthusiasm among the tribals to use the

ancestral language as medium of instruction. But some of them feel that it would be good if facilities are given for learning the ancestral tribal language, as an optional language subject.

(b) Attitude of the tribal elites: In some cases, the tribals themselves are unwilling to have text books in their mother tongue. For instance, a mention may be made of Sadri language in tea-plantation areas. As already noted, this is a corrupt admixture of many languages. There is a feeling among the tribals that if books are written for them in this pidgin language, they will be considered to be culturally low and degenerated by their brethren living in other areas. They are therefore opposed to have text books or written literature in Sadri, but on the other hand they very much desire that teachers in primary schools should know Sadri language, so that they can explain the lessons, written in text books either in Hindi or regional language, through the medium of Sadri.

The above rapid survey of the problem of use of tribal language in education, shows that it is very difficult to adopt a uniform policy and procedure throughout India ; specific measures are required to be devised in each specific context.

7. Class-room practices in inter-ethnic situation

One aspect of tribal education has received little attention in this country, viz., class-room practices in inter-ethnic situations. Frequently, tribal and nontribal children have group prejudices and stereotypes relating to one another, and this affects the sitting arrangement in classroom, composition of playgroups, of friend-ship ties, so on and so forth. In many areas, it has been observed that the inhibitions due to group prejudices and stereotypes have affected enrolment of students in schools. It is very much necessary that a systematic study of the above factors and processes should be undertaken so as to evolve appropriate technique for dealing with them.

8. Special problems relating to education

(a) Problems of tribals residing in small and scattered hamlets : Already, in connection with Asram school, a mention

bas been made of the educational problem of the tribals living in small hamlets. It has been suggested that as far as possible, the children should be enrolled in residential schools. But, obviously, it is not possible to cover all the children specially the female children by this method. On the other hand, it is difficult to establish regular day-schools in these villages because of two factors.

(i) The number of children is very small.

(ii) In many States, some sort of *contribution is expected* from the local people during establishment of school building. But in small-tribal villages it becomes difficult for the people to make such contribution, as the per head share is much larger than in big non-tribal villages.

It is felt that in the small scattered hamlets, it would be necessary to make some special arrangements. Firstly, the population norm for establishing schools in such areas should be considerably reduced. Secondly, there should be local contribution for establishing school buildings. Even these may not be enough. Sometimes, even separate school building need not be insisted upon. There may be a composite school-cum-community centre, constructed with locally available materials ; and if some educated person is locally available, he may be put in charge of the school as part-time teacher-cum-community worker. There may also be other adjustments according to local condition. What is most important, is to have a flexible approach so that the implementing agency can apply its discretion to the largest possible extent for meeting the problem.

(b) Problem of nomadic and seminomadic tribes and seasonal migrants : There are good number of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in the country ; again, considerable number of people belonging to sedentary tribes go out every year with their entire family in search of employment during certain season. The education of the

children belonging to such population poses a special problem. Till now, hardly any attention has been given to their problem. The position has been complicated by the absence of any sense of need for education, among the nomadic population specially. But it may not be an impossible task to make a new start. In some States, for instance in Bihar, police parties accompany nomadic tribes to keep vigilance over their activities. It would be more befitting the spirit of Indian democracy, if the accompanying police personnel do not coofine their task to mere surveillance, but take up the additional task of educating and informing the people under their charge about the modern way of life. On the face of it, this idea may strike to be somewhat novel, but there is nothing odd in it. In a tribal village, on the border of Bhutan, it was observed that literacy could make its first headway, due to the voluntary efforts of a visiting police party. With slight reorientation and training, certainly it will be possible for the police party accompanying a nomadic gang to take up this constructive role. The only practical difficulty would be that the same persons would not be accompanying the same gang always. It will not be possible to solve this problem completely, but perhaps it would not be very difficult to make some sort of workable arrangement by introducing a system of specilisation for the job through attractive inducements and of relay of charge of educational progress records along with other records at the time of transfer of charge of the gang from one police party to another. Undoubtedly, many details in this connection will have to be worked out, but it would be rewarding if some pilot experiment is made on the above line.

As regards the seasonal migrants, the problem is of a different order. Many of them have real urge for education but they cannot avoid the dislocation, because they must make the seasonal movement in search of their livelihood. It is to be examined whether establishment of seasonal homes for children in the areas from where

tribals migrate or of seasonal schools in the areas where they migrate, would meet the problem to some extent.

(c) **Problem of ex-criminal tribes**: Many communities in India were notified as criminal tribes prior to the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1951. Some of these ex-criminal tribes live a nomadic life. Their problem has already been discussed. Some again live in permanent settlements. There is a school of thought in the country that their children should be removed from the uncongenial home environment and should be brought up in residential schools. This appears to be rather a too drastic step and one is not sure whether it will solve the problem. It seems that the children thus brought up will be without any group mooring and in the framework of Indian social structure mainly based on caste, their assimilation in any new group will also be very difficult. They will always suffer from a sordid feeling of guilt and they will despise their elders. As a result, inter-generation conflict will be accentuated. This will be good neither for the individuals concerned nor for the community as a whole. It seems desirable that no attempt should be made towards this dangerous solution.

The problem of the ex-criminal tribes must be seen in its totality and the problem of education of the children of the ex-criminal tribes should be seen as a part of this totality. It follows from this that the normal process of group dynamics should be kept in view while planning the education of the children of the ex-criminal tribes. Along with formal education of the children, a vigorous programme of adult education should be launched to develop new type of leadership, which will influence the decision making processes of the community in a new direction. Simultaneously, adequate opportunity for honest livelihood should be made available to the ex-criminal tribe population. It is through the creation of healthy social climate that the problem of education of the children of the ex-criminal tribes can be tackled in the right direction.

Conclusion :

In the foregoing rapid survey of the various questions relating to the education of the tribals, it has been repeatedly shown that each problem has multiple variants and should be dealt with in its specific context. In other words, there cannot be any generalized approach to the question of tribal education. Each community has its own image of the problem and of its solution ; and no solution will be a correct solution unless the planners of tribal education take these into consideration.

Teen-Agers of Today

"Never Had it so Good"

(Miss) Suneet Veer Singh
External Services Division,
All India Radio,
New Delhi.

An exclusive teen-kingdom has come into being in post-independence India. It is impressive in size. According to the 1961 census, 41% of 484 million Indians were in the 0 to 14 age group. So today there are approximately 196 million boys and girls in the 6 to 20 brackets. A substantial number of them are moulded by our schools and universities. About 67.7 million children are in school and 15 lakh in college. By 1970 it is expected that 17.50 million children will be in school and over 23 lakh students in college.

Worldly, well dressed, and self-assured, are these young men and women going to change the face of India? Parents and teachers talk of the decline of religion and yester year's values. Are the schools and colleges nourishing a new culture or is the change only skin-deep? Is the narrow-trousered youth rejecting the old social order? Are the cute young things in matching *kurta* and *salwar* going to transform Indian society?

The answer is both yes and no. No, because they are not angry young men and women, rejecting all that is old and traditional. The boy who reads Sartre and does the twist so well, is usually the first one to consult the *pundit* for an auspicious date.

The answer is also yes, because, in some spheres, there is a conspicuous change of attitudes and beliefs.

The change is more easily evident in girls. More girls are going in for higher education than at any other time in the history of India. In most families this is the first generation of girls to study. "If my daughter does not have a B.A. degree, who will marry her?" plead many fathers at admission time. And girls can be found studying almost any subject from English literature to electronics.

The Indian Institute of Technology in New Delhi has many girls. The polytechnics for women opened in more than a dozen cities are full to capacity. Here girls prepare for careers as librarians, medical laboratory assistants, commercial artists, architectural assistants and for other vocations. What is most striking is their self-confidence and self-assurance. Education at these polytechnics is free and most of the girls come from lower middle class families.

A sense of direction appears to be lacking in the non-technical institutions. After college, what ? "Well, the question mark answers the question—frankly, I don't know" says 20-year-old Gautam Ahooja, studying in the final year of M.A. Economics.

In the arts college it seems that most of the boys select their subjects without any particular career in mind. At school there is practically no guidance as to what particular course of study would suit a student most. Parents do their best to guide, but often they are not equipped to judge the inclination of the child and link it to job opportunities. A large number of boys, in selecting their subjects, tread the path on which their fathers walked. Most fathers put the highest premium on security ; play safe, is their motto. Also, they are often traditional and conventional in outlook. They frown upon adventure, on any thing new and exciting as a childish dream divorced from reality.

And "so after college, what ?" becomes the most perplexing and often frustrating question for many young men in their final year.

For those whose families are well established in the commercial world or in Government service, there is often a feeling of reassurance that " my father's 'contacts' will see me to a good firm job." The bright student is a good university can always try for the I.A.S. Even many of the bright science students go for the I A.S. without any apparent regret or sense of loss. Few want to teach because it is not paying. But the question is most frightening to the thousands of students from lower middle class families. Anand Goswami, for example, is an average student. With a little bit of work and luck, he is sure of getting through the B.A. Pass of Delhi University. But a B.A., as he says, is no qualification. His father, a retired mechanic, has no "pull". "The University

Employment Bureau is not much of a help", he complains. "They are only good for very low-paid posts like junior stenos and clerks. So the future seems like a nightmare where nothing is certain."

The nightmare is more frightening for the student who has the misfortune of studying in the lesser known universities.

Here standards are appallingly low. Most of the teachers lack the necessary teaching qualification. And the students ? "I interview hundreds of them for clerical posts," says Mr Udeshi of the Delhi Cloth Mills. "Many of them do not get jobs for months after they graduate. And the reason is not far to seek. Most of them have made oo effort, they have no self-confidence, no general knowledge. They hardly ever look at a newspaper."

For a young boy of adventure who is prepared to go out io search of unconventional opportunities, the door suddenly opens up. Take the case of Surinder Siddhu. He comes from an agricultural family io a small village near Patiala. His father seot him to school aod theo to college io Simla. At college he got interested in dramatics, chucked up his studies aod came to the Natiooal School of Drama io Delhi. Here was a line his father hardly understood and, in any case, he could not afford to support him in Delhi. Surioder approached the Director of the School who asked him to appear for the scholarship examinatioo, "And then on ; it was smooth sailing." Now, haviog completed the course, Surinder plans to launch a mobile theatre company to tour Punjab.

For a student of merit and ambition poverty oeed not be a problem. Analytical studies made by the Union Public Service Commission show that a fairly large number of entrants into the I.A.S. and the "Allied" service belong to middle class families of modest means. The merit and other scholarships have certainly opened up opportunities for a very large number of young people. What perhaps is really interesting is that once in a while even a girl gets into I.A.S. although her parents are poor. For example Asha, daughter of a fruit-seller, she is now an I.A.S. officer and her sister wants to study medicine. Neither the father nor the mother has been to school but they were determined to educate their children.

For the less ambitious and those who are not academically inclined, polytechnics and training centres have opened up new oppor-

tunities. Unfortunately, there are not enough of these institutions in the country; we need many more. But the network of institutions now existing have already created in their neighbourhood an awareness of the importance of the vocational training as the key to a better future. Eighteen-year-old Jagdish, son of a construction labourer, read only up to the eighth class. Poverty compelled him to give up school and he had to take to ear-cleaning and polishing to add to the family income. But he knows that he can go to a school and he is working hard to save money to join a nearby technical training centre.

TWO WORLD'S THAT SELDOM MEET

In the world of youth, however, a great divide exists between the educated classes and the huge mass of uneducated people. Within educated classes money, of course, draws dividing lines. Even in a place like the Delhi University campus, there is a social and cultural divide between students of St. Stephen's college and those of some others. The public school boys develop a personality and a behaviour complex of their own. But within the educated classes social barriers, though still quite strong, are steadily breaking down.

The barrier is perhaps stronger today than in the past between the educated and the uneducated. In all metropolitan cities there are actually two worlds of youth—the world of the educated classes and the world of the illiterate manual workers many of whom belong to the scheduled castes. In the villages, although untouchability has been abolished by law, relationships between the lower and the upper castes remain frozen. In the cities the freeze takes on fearful aspects, all the more so because the affluent and the poor live within a stone's throw of one another. Beautiful, fashionable, modern houses stand within a few hundred yards of sprawling slums. Young boys and girls from the world of the rich cross every day the world of the poor. But there is no communication. Children of even lower middle classes whose fathers get no more than Rs. 4,000 a year and who live in the vicinity of slums, who walk to schools by *kucha* roads with stinking cess-pools and strewn with litter along which the *jhuggis* are built, hardly ever stop to say 'hello' to a friend in the slum l

In the slum areas around Delhi and in all other metropolitan towns children grow up into adolescence and their faces become sullen, hard—even cruel. The most potent instrument of breakthrough is education of which they had either none or very little. Their fathers usually work as sweepers, household workers and unskilled labourers. The boys go to a local school for a couple of years then give up and the fathers could not care less. The girls stay at home to help their mothers and, in many cases, as they grow up they go out to work with or without their mothers. In their late teens the boys find odd kinds of jobs in automobile workshops, petrol pumps and in *mandis*. Some become shoe-shine boys. Most of them take to their fathers' professions. The parents are reluctant to send the children to schools run by the Municipal Corporations. "No work is done." complains a 23-year-old employee of the Delhi Municipality. "My six-year-old daughter has been going to the Corporation school for four months and still she could not write a single word."

In the universities boys and girls from different socio-economic backgrounds are thrown together. Inevitably, there are two distinct groups—the elite from affluent and upper middle class families, and the "others" from the lower middle class families. But the two groups are more flexible than they were even ten years ago — there is much more crossing over the line, though group-consciousness is still there.

Perhaps one of the best places to watch this in practice is the Delhi University Coffee House. Winter or summer, during term time. the small barrack-like cafe is always full. Around some tables sit the glamour girls with hack-brushed hair and the drones whose scooters are parked outside. On others sit the *bahenjis* wearing a plait or a tight bun, and shy young escorts. But here and there is a table where there is a mixture of both, discussing a seminar paper or the college play. They exchange notes, work together in the library, visit one another at home.

"When I joined in 1962 there were two groups in the hostel—the public school and the others," recalls a final year student. "But the two never met outside class. Now the groups are still there but we get to know each other outside class at the drama club or the debating society."

But between the university students and the village, the gulf is as wide, if not wider than it was for past generations. "Most of us don't think of the villages because we just don't know anything about them", say a student of Hindi literature. "The news-papers say very little about them, neither are we taught much about rural life." What about going to search in a village ? A few do think of it. "but it is just not the thing done".

The spirit of adventure is not lacking. Rural reconstruction could attract the daring spirit of another sort ; we could have our own Peace Corps ; but right now, there is no effective organisation to create and channelise the enthusiasm. The total indifference of the university students towards rural life is not due to the so-called Westernisation of our youth.

The young people of India are today more adventurous than ever before. They see mountains, learn gliding, and their hobbies include sailing and globe-trotting. They travel. They talk freely about many things, including sex and human relationships. They question. Their reading tastes are catholic and ambivalent. Most of them read popular foreign magazines such as *Time, Life, Encounter* and *Reader's Digest* ; quite a few read comics and some confers to reading magazines like *Playboy.* Their list of reading includes classics as well as modern "hot" fiction. In the semi-urban and rural areas there is, by compulsion, a greater appetite for Indian books in which the classical writers predominate. But, by and large, students are fond of modern writings in their own languages.

Almost as a rule, they are more conscious of the good things of life. They see more films, plays and dances than their parents could even think of. Music, dancing and the fine arts have begun to touch their life. In the sophisticated urban society there is a lot of Western pop music and dancing. In middle class homes the radio and the gramophone provide most of the entertainment, and there is, of course, the cinema. In the villages it is the radio which is giving young people an introduction to the world of entertainment. The traditional form of Indian entertainment seem to be losing their grip on young minds.

Westernisation is an over-played myth. In any case, it is limited to a very small upper fringe of society. With education modernisation of outlook is surely coming and the minds of young men and women are changing. *But the old traditional values remain. By and large, there is no revolt against them.* Perhaps the philosophy of the Indian revolution has caught the young people too. They want to change, but they are not yet ready for radical transformation.

Thoughts on Student Unrest

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The widespread student unrest all over India in recent years has naturally caused deep concern to all those who believe in building a new socio-economic order in the country and who look upon the rising generation as the destined to transform the dreams of Gandhiji and Jowaharlal Nehru into a living reality. The causes of the disturbances are being variously diagnosed : the reactions have ranged from the simple political expedient of blaming it all on anti-social elements bent upon creating chaos to the bureaucratic approach of treating it as a simple law and order problem. The redeeming feature is the existence of a large body of opinion which recognizes that the student agitation has thrown into sharp focus society's failure on many fronts which cumulatively have added up to frustration and lack of a sense of direction or purpose in youth. Viewed thus, what is glibly described as "student indiscipline" is the inevitable product of the distortations and inadequacies in the socio-economic milieu which find reflection in the shortcomings and perversions in the educational system.

When the Prime Minister often describes the student community as "the inheritors of the future" she is only echoing a sentiment expressed by the national leadership over the decades, both before and after the attainment of independence. Both Gandhiji and Jawaharlal had given considerable thought to the problem of changing the educational system along with the environment in which children and youth grow up into citizens. And they were by no means the only ones to realize that the whole socio-economic set-up had to be transformed and that the educational system had to undergo drastic changes to bring it in tune with the social purpose in view. Despite so much thought having been bestowed on this all-important subject, however, it has now to be acknowledged that little has been done

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to bring about these vital and necessary changes. Fortyfive years ago Gandhiji emphasized that what was lacking in the educational system introduced by the British was "the living touch of the teacher." He refered to the fact that primary school teacher were not getting a decent wage and pointed out that as a result "they only come who cannot find any other employment." In later years he decried the obsession with textbooks and emphasized that books "are required more for the teachers than for the taught" and that, having thoroughly equipped himself, the teacher should endeavour constantly "to draw out the best from the boys and girls" entrusted to his care. The teacher, in short, had to be a companion, friend and guide to each individual student in the formative years if he or she was to grow into an adult with the most desirable human qualities. Discipline is not a quality imparted through threats or violence; it has to be woven into mental make-up of the individual from childhood onwards.

Deep Causes

The present mood of rebellion among students in colleges has therefore to be viewed in the context of the entire national environment; it would be extremely unwise to ascribe it only to the failings of university authorities, teachers and parents, or to the unhealthy activities of political and communal groups seeking to exploit discontent anywhere for furthering sectional ends or even merely for creating confusion and a feeling of instability. This is not to deny that these two elements are very much present in the current situation; only, it would be incorrect to consider them the sole causes of the eruption of student violence. Nor is it enough to be content with condemning the authorities for permitting the police to aggravate tension by resorting to thoughtless and indiscriminate use of force, although it is certainly necessary to call a halt to police *zulum* in and around the campuses and colleges.

It is not easy to catalogue the deeper causes of the unrest or to classify them, according appropriate priority to each. While no doubt the authorities will have to bestow attention on the immediate reasons for the present wave of disturbance and take speedy measures to end tensions in campus and college, there is need for earnest and profound study of all the causes that have led to this situation and their inter-relationships, and

find adequate remedies so as to ensure that the whole edifice of democracy built in this country with so much effort does not crack up. This precisely is what Jawaharlal Nehru meant when he said in 1952 that "democracy must have a background and basis in the masses of the people, in their education (and) in the other processes that we encourage or discourage..... I am sometimes frightened by the type of education that is given and the results that it produces."

Heart-Searching Needed

Srimati Indira Gandhi has said, rightly, "We must find out what worries them (the students) and try to deal with their problems." What worries students today ? The answer is not to be found in the immediate, isolated and often perhaps insignificant causes of the recent incidents in the country. The attempt to find the answer has to start with heartsearching at all levels of leadership in the country—and not only political leadership, Government as well as Opposition despite its unquestionable importance in the present scheme of things.

Independence dawned with great promise : the people, suppressed and exploited for ages not only by foreigners but also by the affluent minority in their own midst, felt that at last a new order was emerging in which exploitation would have no place and their children would grow up in an atmosphere of freedom and confidence. No one expected miraculous changes overnight, but there certainly was hope that changes would be initiated which would lead to the cherished goal in the foreseeable future. These hopes and aspirations of the people found substantial expression in the Directive Principles of State Policy. There was faith that the social and economic justice promised would be honestly striven for. With Jawaharlal Nehru at the helm the faith and hope did indeed appear fully justified.

Forgotten Values

The calculation went wrong because the extent of corruption and apathy to the public weal that power could produce in its wielders was not taken into account. The people soon began to find that, instead of dedicatedly serving the public interest and taking clear-cut steps to remove inequalities and bring about social and economic justice, those elevated to the seats of power—at any rate most of them—were

beginning to derive enjoyment and satisfaction from the mere possession and exercise of Power. The values cherished and the promises made during the decades af struggle were relegated to the serap-heap, notwithstanding the sustained efforts of Jawaharalal to make his colleagues in the ruling party remember and redeem them.

The result of all this has been that youngsters in free India are growing up in a vicious atmosphere in which corruption and nepotism are taken for granted, vested interests nre pampered at the cost of the vast majority, morality and honesty are at a discount and selfishness and greed are dominant features in the lives of those who should normally be deemed the pacesetters. Mrs. Gandhi has said that " it is for our younger generation that all planning and development programmes are ultimately meant " Why is it that such an assertion has to be made by the Prime Minister io the twentieth year of freedom ? Why is it that awareness of this essential truth has not percolated to the youth of the land ? The answer would seem to be that the leadership, not only at the oational level but almost every level has by its conduct over two decades failed to evoke the trust that is necessary to enthuse the young people and make them strive earnestly to build [a new India. When the bulk of the leadership demonstrable lacks character and dedication, when pursuit of power and wealth have become the sole concern to the exclusion of public service, when no doubt is left in the minds of the people that promises of a socio-economic revolution are empty words devoid of sincerity, it is indeed futile to expect faith to be georeated in n generation which is quite aware of what is going on around it. In a sense, therefore, the prevailing unrest among stundents may he considered a revolt, however unconscious and diffused, against the implicit rejection of the highest human values by the order generation, against the drift which leaves youth unceratin of its direction and goal.

Awakening

In what sort of atmosphere does the child grow up before he reaehes the college-going age ? He learns when quite young that to get him admitted in school his father has to bribe someone directly or indirectly or to beg for ioterventioo hy some influential person. Often payment made for this purpose becomes a source

of misery to the family since the parents do not have the means. As he grows the boy also finds that his father has to spend much more than he can afford merely to make sure that he gets an education. He also finds that for every essential transaction which cannot be delayed the parent has to offer illegal gratification or utilize other people's influence and thus be obliged to them. Later on he finds that admission to college is not so simple as he had imagined, despite his good marks and his desire to learn. Often he finds that a classmate less bright than himself gets in easily while his father is driven from pillar to post till finally he has to put his son into a course for which he has the least aptitude.

Problem of Teachers

And after admission, he finds that the teacher is preoccupied with his own problems, that access is not easy and there is no communion established. More often than not he has to fend for himself, without anyone bothering too much about what he is doing. He comes to know that even the selection of teachers is not always entirely on merit, that often the teacher has little interest either in the subject or in the students. He also finds that there are many who have had similar experience and are feeling equally listless. In the world outside college he finds a vicious atmosphere where for all practical purposes the law of the jungle prevails. These then are the circumstances in which we expect the boy to be a thoroughly disciplined student dedicated to his studies and with no thought for anything else.

The Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education submitted its report at a time when hopes were high and the deterioration in the standards of public life had not become so rapid. Nevertheless, it paid attention to the question of discipline in colleges and made certain general observations. "Some youth at home, in school and in college gravitate into patterns of conduct which create concern for parents and teachers," the Commission said. "Surplus energy, not finding a legitimate outlet, misadventure, idleness, and occasionally malice, all conspire to create mischief and irregularities of conduct." It took note of the views expressed by many witnesses that the fact that "we are living in a period of confusion and conflict...has an unsettling effect upon the youth of every country." It also referred to politicians' tendency to mislead students into unhealthy activity and to the part played by anti-social

elements. Having thus summarised the external cause, the commission went on to the defects in the educational system : "Among the most general though indirect causes (of indiscipline) often cited were meagre finances and consequent lack of amenities required for healthy college life. Closely related to these elements is the economic distress of some of the institutions which lack the means to provide adequate hostels and comfortable living conditions, playgrounds and desirable corporate activities for students. The masses of students, the failure of parents at times to support the college authorities, inability of the teachers to cope with confused thinking, admission of students without the intelligence or industry requisite for successful study, tensions over examinations which unfortunately dominate the educational system, financial worry caused to poor students by the cost of university education — all these contribute to the difficulties of maintaining the best conduct and welfare of students.

Real Discipline

The Commission, having thus analysed the internal causes of indiscipline, emphasized that "wholesome student attitude and life cannot be created by negative and repressive measures"; neither punitive steps nor precautionary vigilance would help. "As in society so in the university laws are observed because they are approved by reason rather than because they are imposed by force." Indiscipline could be terminated only by creating the kind of atmosphere in which the boys and girls would get a fair chance to develop into good students. And this could be achieved only by giving the students "the opportunity to develop self-respect and self-reliance through an attitude of trust rather than live in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear.

Apart from its many recommendations for changing the pattern of university education, the commission specifically recommended three steps to ensure a healthy attitude on the part of students leading to the observance of voluntary discipline. These were: 1. Students should be encouraged to take interest in good government but not in party politics : 2. a modified proctorial system, in which students will play a large part, or students' Government, should be developed and 3. teachers, parents, political leaders, the public and the press should cooperate in promoting proper life among students. It also suggested

a number of amenities and machinery to be set up to look after student welfare.

Seventeen Years After

This was in 1949. After seventeen years the Education Commission (1964-66) has found it necessary to preface its observations on the problem with these words : "In the last couple of decades, so much has been written about student unrest, its numerous ugly manifestations and the causes responsible for it that it is not necessary for us to repeat the details." Sad commentary indeed on the manner in which the various proposals made from time to time to provide a satisfactory atmosphere in colleges and to give youth a sense of purpose and direction in life have been implemented. The Kothari Commission has pointedly referred to some of the more important causes of the prevailing mood of students : "the uncertain future facing educated young men leading to a sense of frustration which breeds irresponsibility; the mechanical and unsatisfactory nature of many curricular programmes ; the totally inadequate facilities for teaching and learning in the large bulk of institutions ; the poor student-teacher contact—many a student goes through the entire undergraduate course without exchanging a word with his teachers ; inefficiency and lack of scholarship on the part of many teachers and their failure to interest themselves in the students' problems ; the absence of imagination and tact combined with firmness on the part of heads of institutions ; the prevalence of...teacher politics to interfere in their work ; and the impact of the conditions of public life in the country, the falling standard of discipline among the adult and a weakening of their civic consciousness and integrity."

Many Facets

Thus the Kothari Commission in its recent voluminous report has indicated that the problem is one of huge dimensions and of many facets ; it has emphasised that responsibility for the situation "is not unilateral" in the sense that the students, teachers, parents, State Governments and political parties cannot separately be blamed for it ; all of them share the responsibility, although in varying degrees. Some of the remedies required, it says, "go beyond the education system." Having objectively stated in the broadest terms the effect of external factors on student behaviour, the Commission has pointed out that within the educational system two steps are

needed : (1) removal of the educational deficiencies that contribute to unrest ; and (2) establishment of an adequate consultative and administrative machinery to prevent the occurrence of such incidents. "The incentives to positive discipline have to come from the opportunities that the institution presents and the intellectual and social demands it makes on the students." In other words, the remedies are to improve the standards and method of teaching so as to make the student feel that he is participating in the process of learning with a purpose, and to bring closer relationship between the teacher and the taught so that the student will at all times have the confidence that he can get his problems solved with the help of his teacher.

The Commission has suggested that the whole of university life should be treated as one and has pleaded against any attempts at polarisation. To this end, it has recommended the appointment of joint committees of teachers and students, the establishment of a central committee in each university or college under the chairmanship of the vice-chancellor or principal and consisting of teachers and students, and where advisable, the association of students with the Academic Council and the Court. What we have to strive to generate is a spirit of comradeship between teacher and students based on mutual affection and esteem and on a common allegiance to the pursuit of truth, of excellence in many directions and of the good of society as a whole.

National needs

These suggestions are good as far as they go. Perhaps if all the recommendations of the two Commissions are fully implemented much of the present tension in the colleges will be eliminated. Even so, the basic causes which lie in the social, political and economic activities of the country as a whole will remain. The Radhakrishnan Commission noted the academic problem had since independence assumed new shapes and that the universities "must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible freedom from want, disease and ignorance!" and added "if our living standards are to be raised, a radical change of spirit is essential". What was the radical change it envisaged ? We must have a conception of the social order for which we are educating our youth...Our educational system must find its guiding principle in the aims of the social

order for which it prepares, in the nature of the civilization it hopes to build." Since, "we are engaged in a quest for democracy through the realisation of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity," it is necessary that the pattern of education imparted in the country at all levels should reflect these new urges.

These sentiments expressed seventeen years ago are valid to-day, with the difference that the nation has prescribed for itself the goal of a socialist society and the educational system has to be refashioned to achieve this aim. The entire approach to the purpose of education has to change and this change must find reflection in the substance of what is taught in our schools and colleges. No thought was given to this question after the Radhakrishnan Commission's report, with the result that this year the Kothari Commission has had to observe "it has become urgent (a) to re-evaluate the role of education in the total programme of national development ; (b) to identify the changes needed in the existing system of education if it is to play its proper role, and to prepare programme of educational development based on them and (c) to implement this programme with determination and vigour." It is sad that after 19 years of freedom a Commission of this kind should have found it necessary to plead that education must be "used as a powerful instrument of social, economic and political change" and that it must be "related to the long-term national aspiration."

Neglect

A study of the two reports shows how little effort has been made in the intervening years to make education suit the national needs to promote the kind of teaching which will instil in the mind of the students an awareness of their role in national life, to prevent certain aspects of education like prescription of text-books, admission and so on from becoming new kinds of rackets and to ensure at every stage that what is taught has a definite bearing on the changes to be brought about in society. Outdated books are still being prescribed, and these have no relation to the socialist society we aspire to build in this country. Equality is talked about freely but inequality is constantly perpetuated by affording for the well-to-do and denying them to the vast majority. The "elite" continue to

be able to give their children education of a kind different from that available to the majority. By determinedly refusing to make the changes needed in the educational system the ruling class is only trying to perpetuate itself ; the fact that the ruling class today is a little more diffused than it was some years ago makes only marginal difference in the position. This is why almost every aspect of education has become a racket—from admission and prescription of text-books to examination and promotions.

Immediate Tasks

While serious efforts should begin immediately to remedy the basic defects in the educational system which lead to friction and maladjustment, it is equally necessary to look into the other aspects emphasized by Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University at a symposium in 1966. He pointed out that while it might be true that anti-social elements sometimes exploited student unrest, it was wrong to deal with students "as we do with law-breakers." The law-enforcing authorities should show the maximum restraint in case it did become necessary to intervene ; but intervention should be kept at the minimum. From the broad national viewpoint it was important that conflict between students and the police force should not be allowed to grow. Such a development, he rightly emphasized, would have serious implications not only for internal security but also for the defence of the motherland. The authorities would do well to ponder over these observations. If they do not gain from recent experience and take steps to restore normalcy io the universities and colleges in the first instance and to remove, io close consultations with the educational authorities, the defects io the system of education, they would have proved themselves unworthy of public confidence.

While those in power have the major responsibility in this regard, it would be wrong of the Opposition parties to imagine that they have done their duty to the country by issuing strongly-worded statements condemning the police for high-handedness. The healthy growth of the future citizens of India is not the exclusive responsibility of the ruling party or of the educational authorities. It is a responsibility that has to be shared by all sections of society irrespec-

tive of political leanings or social status. The demand for a judicial inquiry after every flare-up is no doubt justified ; but a judicial inquiry is not an end in itself. *The effort should be to forget political differences and even the coming elections, and sit down together to discuss the problems in all its aspects and help in clearing the atmosphere.*

Our Commitment

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A new problem has come to the fore in the recent period, the problem of student youth unrest in many States of the country. The outbreak of this unrest is not an accidental development; underlying it are far-reaching changes in the Indian society after the advent of independence.

The political independence of India further accelerated the opening up of the Indian society and its integration with the international society. This opening up, resulting in greater communication between India and the developed societies has a positive aspect. Indeed, the very concepts of growth and progress and the means of achieving them—scientific knowledge and modern technology—are derived by the underdeveloped societies from the developed societies. It is in relation to the developed countries that underdeveloped countries become aware of their being at the lowest rungs of the contemporary ladder of social and economic development.

Imported Super-structure

In this process, social forces are generated within the backward countries which aim at rapidly modernising them and bridging the gap between underdeveloped and developed societies. Contact with the developed, 'affluent societies', however, has also other effects which are deleterious for rapid development. The super-structure of consumption attitudes and aspirations, cultural values, and socio-political institutions associated with the stage of 'affluence' are imported by the underdeveloped societies much before they have laid down the solid economic foundation to support this super-structure.[1] In particular, the international demonstration effect acts more effectively in undermining the traditional system of values and levels of aspirations than in accelerating the growth of the material means of their fulfilment. For the elites of the underdeveloped societies, austerity, discipline and hard work which preceded and paved the way for the mature stage 'affluence' in developed societies have much less attraction than the

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fruits of affluence. This explains why, in the past, development was accomplished under conditions of 'closing up' of the developing society and whether it was Japan or Soviet Russia, the 'tightening up of the belt' required for development could be enforced by building up powerful defences against this aspect of the international demonstration effect.

The half-heartedness and vacillation of the elites in mobilising their societies for development, which is a characteristic of many developing societies including India, has its source not merely in the weakening of the moral fibre of the elites ; this moral laxity has its source in the allurements transmitted with the force of an avalanche from the developed to the underdeveloped societies. Thus, the discord between the elites and the poverty-stricken masses is inevitable as vital sections of the elite succumb to these allurements and seek short-cuts for their swift fulfilment.

Dedicated Leadership

This is not to suggest that the solution for these problems lies in the direction of closing up developing societies from contact with developed societies. Indeed, total 'closing up' may even lead to a set-back to the impulsion for change and development. What is necessary, however, is to build up strong, internal mechanisms to ensure that the growth, including effects of foreign contact, are intensified and the growth-retarding influences are effectively neutralised. The first internal pre-condition for this purpose is the existence of a leadership having deep bonds with the mass of its countrymen and a sense of mission and commitment to the goals of modern development. Only a committed and enlightened leadership which is prepared to share hardships and sufferings with the rest of society can confidently mobilise its society for the great transition from under-development to modern development.

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1. In the cultural sphere, it is not the passion for science, rationality and progress of the early enlighteners of the European cultural revolution which is imbibed by the elites of the developing societies ; on the contrary, it is the scepticism— and even nihilism-oriented doctrines and philosophies (e.g. existentialism) of the era of 'affluence' which become fashionable among the intelligentsia of the developing societies. Needless to add, diffusion of these doctrines and philosophies incapacitates the elite from playing an active role in the battle for cultural modernisation—against mediaevalism, superstition and irrationalism predominant in underdeveloped societies.

The nationalist struggle in India was undoubtedly associated with a moral ferment ; it did throw up a leadership which had strong bonds with the people and which rose to great heights of moral courage and dedication. In the person of Gandhi, India did throw up a leader who became a symbol of Indian awakening ; his call for Swadeshi, austerity and service both through preaching and personal example did spiritually electrify the nation. And yet, the moral energy of the people released during the freedom struggle was gradually dissipated with the advent of freedom : the moral fervour could not be maintained and harnessed for the cause of Indian development.

Inadequate Preparation

The Gandhian ideology served the limited requirements of the nationalist struggle ; it was swept aside with the achievement of freedom. The inadequacy of the Gandhian ideology lay in its underlying idealisation of hackwardness and poverty. The Gandhian conception of austerity was not linked with an historically adequate perspective of national development ; it was development-negating rather than development-affirming. Shorn of the Gandhian premises, however, the concepts of Swadeshi and austerity had great potentialities, only if they were given a rational and functional interpretation in terms of the requirements of socio-economic development.

The nationalist elite on the eve of independence was, however, inadequately prepared for the developmental challenge. Consequently, as freedom dawned, the absence of national consensus on the goals of development, the weakness of development-oriented social forces within the national movement and the rapidity with which Indian society was thrown open to external influences from 'affluent societies' had far-reaching consequences. The impetus to development from endogenous urges and the exogenous impact was vitiated by other processes—the sagging of the moral fervour of the elite, the increasing divorce between the profession of austerity and the practice of conspicuous consumption, and the gradual erosion of the limited national consensus achieved during the nationalist struggle.

In the course of the freedom struggle, service in the national cause emerged as the principal criterion of recruitment to the po-

litical elite ; in contrast, power divorced from service and wealth acquired through easy and often unscrupulous means began to gain legitimacy after the advent of independence. The change in the value systems and status symbols was a reflection of the transformation of the social character and composition of the political elite during the last two decades.

It is not difficult to comprehend the impact of these new processes on the impressionable youth of the country ; they provide the background to the *anomie* of the Indian youth and their lack of social purpose and national commitment.

Sources of Tension

The initiation of the development process and the growth of new opportunities for the youth in many spheres—these undoubtedly constitute important features of the period following Independence. Consider first the increase in the number of school, college and university-going students which has occurred in recent years. A new development since independence is that a sizable section of the student community, specially in small and middle towns and cities, is drawn from the rural areas and from the traditionally under-privileged socio-economic classes ; they can be characterised as 'first generation learners' in as much as their parents themselves never had any education. The positive significance of this change in the composition and character of the student community is marred by the failure to channelise these new social forces in a constructive direction.

The rural youth who come to the towns and cities in large numbers are for the first time freed from the cramping controls of traditional institutions (*e.g.*, the joint family, caste and village, etc.). The freedom gained and the energy released thereby does not find satisfying outlets in the urban areas which present new problems of adjustment and abound in unwholesome excitements and distractions. The inadequate food and residential arrangements, the overcrowding in educational institutions, the psychological tension and insecurity generated by the more competitive, individualistic and impersonal environment coupled with the uncertainties of future employment—these constitute sources of tensions and frustration which result in inhibited socialisation.

The retreating and submissive youth turns into an angry young man when he finds others with more powerful social connections and not necessarily always with more competence getting on more easily in life. Disparities emanating from differences in class and social backgrounds and the acute sense of these disparties lead to the accumulation of tensions which have an explosive potentil. The angry young man becomes angrier as he joins the army of job-seekers, of the educated unemployed, and is no more prepared to adapt the level of his aspirations to the prevailing realities.

These factors lead to unrest and turmoil. Demands for improvement of the conditions of study and living for the students and of security of employment and welfare for the educated youth are raised from different quarters. The administrators are compelled to reckon with these grievances in order to neutralise the explosive potential of youth dissatisfaction and discontent. Improvements along these lines no doubt can relieve tension to some extent but can they resolve the crisis ?

The Lag

The developing society can ill-afford to pamper its youth by the lure of material improvements ; it has no option but to resolve the problem of 'expectation—fulfilment' lag by an all-out enforcement of austerity on the entire society. Even the rising bourgeois of the western societies laid the basis for future nfluence by his Puritanical fervour and by his exacting demands on his progeny for work and achievement. Indeed, if the Indian youth of today has not lost the properties of sensitiveness, energy and idealism common to youth of all times and countries, what needs most is not material allurement but hard apprenticeship for subsequent participation in the task of nation-building as adult citizens.

Independence was once an inspiring social ideal and the struggle for independence brought to the foreground some of the finest qualities of the Indian youth. Indian leadership in the period following independence has not been able to transform the challenge of national development into such an overpowering cause ; the programme of planned development has not caught the imagination of the youth nor has it released spiritual ferment and energy

to any appreciable extent. The fundamental causes of this weakness are socio-political ; they lie in the ambivalent attitude of the leadership to the challenge of development.

Organizing Support

The failure to organise development as a broadbased social process stems from the tendency of the ruling elite to shrink from the very logic of development, viz. the obligation to prepare the entire society towards willingly accepting high levels of austerity, discipline and hard work over a long period of time. It is necessary to emphasise that the very nature of the cause of independence was such that support for it was spontaneous ; in contrast, support for development has to be organised. The extent of support for it depends on how it is organised, and in what manner its gains and burdens are shared by different sections of society.

The ruling elite which permits the propertied and monied classes to get away with using their wealth either for high returns outside social priorities or for maintaining high levels of conspicuous consumption finds it increasingly difficult to enforce austerity on the other classes. The failure to discipline the propertied classes and make them part with their surpluses for augmenting national savings and accummulation has the inevitable effect of feeding the legitimate importance of the toiling people for prompt, redistributive justice, for a larger share in the national product.

This is a climate hardly favourable for any moral apeal for sacrifice and self-denial or for any vigorous drive for augmentation of the national product. Half-hearted efforts to mobilise internal resources, human and material, necessitate dependence on foreign aid. And so the vicious circle deepens.

The legacy for the youth of today from the previous generations is thus a mixed one ; political independence and the initiation of the development process on the one hand and the unfinished tasks of development on the other.

Past history of the national movement richly demonstrates that the participation of the enlightened youth was an important factor in preventing the throw-back of the nationalist stream into the quagmire of conservatism. The vast youth awakening from the thirties onwards prepared the ground for the young Nehru to

fight for imparting socio-economic content to the vague and omorphous concept of *Swaraj* ; backed by youth resurgence he dared challenge the forces of conservatism within the nationalist leadership.

Indian youth can again contribute towards a big push to India's growth and progress. Thinking and dynamic elements among the youth will have to organise themselves for serious self-education before they can organise the participation of the youth in this vital national task.

Behaviour of Our Youth

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THE APPROACH

This small study presents an empirical approach to the understanding of the current behaviour of our youth, particularly of students, and incidentally it includes a few suggestive remarks regarding the directions of social policy and measures. The choice of approach is in view of the consideration that only common sense and reasoning ability (observation and logic) are taken to be insufficient tools for understanding and explaining the problems in human relations ; a combined approach may be more fruitful.

Diagnosis of the nature of behaviour of our youth can be made by taking either youth or behaviour as the focal point. This is merely procedural distinction, since there is no difference in the degree of the scientific nature of the two treatments, and secondly, because of the inseparable character of the two, the basic content of the two approaches is likewise practically the same. We have, however, chosen the latter.

Besides, instead of starting with a stereotyped image of the youth behaviour with a characteristic negative value it is considered to be more appropriate to analyse and to understand it as a specific phenomenon. Secondly, it is examined in relation to general social perspective, *i* e., not as a class problem but as one of the general social situation.

Consideration of this issue as 'indiscipline' distorts basically the very approach towards the real issue. First, it implies starting with value loaded premises. Secondly, it presents a static analysis. And thirdly, being studied as a class problem it leads to a sectoral approach, such an approach is most likely to lead to misplacement of emphasis and even to wrong conclusions.

In the present context, two things have to be distinguished and understood separately. Relative degree of variation from the past

in the case of different classes, and secondly, a comparison of values and behaviour of different groups towards society at present. To put the issue under a sharper focus, let it be considered as to how far have the behaviour patterns and values of different groups and classes departed from the past ? And secondly, how far is the behaviour of different groups towards society at present considered to be good ? The first relates to the phenomenon of social change in general, and the second is a question of relative change in the case of different classes. To be more pointed, let the question be put the other way round : are other age-groups (particularly the elders) and professional groups (specially doctors, lawyers, politicians, teachers, administrators, trading class, and working class, etc.) showing at present a behaviour towards the society which should be and is called a proper, and a behaviour better than that of the most of our students towards society ? If the answer is in the negative (as it is), two important things emerge : (*i*) who should call black, kettle or pot, or to use a Bibhical expression : who should throw a stone, and (*ii*) should a stone be thrown at all ? Is indiscipline by other groups (i.e., treatment as an isolated class phenomenon), ethically justified ? Is it scientifically correct ? Is the actual behaviour of our youth rational ? Is it not a misuse of their socially favourable position by the class of elders ? Does it not imply the double standards of morality ? On the other hand, the fact that youth in general and students in particular have not rebelled against, or protested against, or even expressed disapproval of this public scandalizing shows a high degree of toleration and respect for age on their part.

From the above consideration, it follows that behaviour of youth is not inferior to that of other classes ; and the decline in values and standards is not peculiar to this class only. What is supposed to be fundamentally wrong with this group at present is common to all groups. Hence the problem should be taken as a problem of the society in general and not a problem of one particular class. Detached from its proper perspective even the most scientific enquiry may result in faulty conclusions. Again, departure from the past should not be taken as necessarily an evil. It should be appreciated as a change, and should be examined in relation to its relevent social perspective. Hence instead of treating it as misbehaviour and as a class problem the issue should be examined as a general social phenomenon and without value premises.

Analysis

Human behaviour as a function involves an actor (a substantive unit), a definite action (definite structure, magnitude and content), and a space or plane. Besides, behind the action there is a basic impulse, and there is an interaction. Value premises originate in the interaction particularly with reference to the nature of the effect it causes on or the consequences to the other interacting elements, i.e., other groups or individuals or the society. The nature of action is determined with reference to the nature of the specific space, i.e., the plane of human activity, such as physical and mental, or economic, social, psychological and ethical, or material and spiritual. Let us take these the areas of reference separately.

(i) Youth : Without indulging into the conceptual problems of defining the criteria (i.e , the psychological and socio-cultural traits) to distinguish youth from other classes one can start with a simple operational classification based on age which provides a sufficiently reliable workab'e base. The age-group 15-25 years can be taken as a broad representative of the class. This is the group to which most of our college and university students belong.

The psycho-social traits of boys and girls of this age-group may be viewed as positive and negative dimensions. The former group is characterised by self-respect, idealism, sensitivity, flexibility, enthusiasm and ambitiousness, etc., and the latter by rashness, immaturity, aggressiveness, skepticism and instability, etc. There are, however, a few traits such as emotionalism and radicalism which may assume positive or negative roles depending upon the specific situations. The nature of youth, its personality structure, mode of behaviour, scale of values and attitude system etc., are determined by a combination of these two sets of variables. An examination of the nature of youth at any point of time brings in a definite pattern which may present any combination of these traits (i.e., predominance of some and submerging of others).

In connection with the issue under observation it is relevant to enquire whether the behaviour of our youth presents features of erosion of values and morals. In order to answer this question properly, a reference to the mental makeup of our youth in general, and of students in particular, may provide some fruitful clues. Some empirical evidence is provided in the following tables for this

purpose. It is taken from our study 'Trends of Urbanization in Agra.' It relates to three aspects : (a) unemployment and under-employment, (b) worries in daily life, (c) frustrations. They have been studied in relation to age-groups.

Table No. I—A.

Age-distribution of the unemployment persons

Age Categories (Yrs.)	No.	Percentage
15-25	83	47.2
25-35	38	21.6
35-45	24	13.6
45-55	17	9.7
Above 55	14	7.9
Total	176	100.0

Table No. I—B.

Age-distribution of the under-employed

Age Categories (Yrs.)	No.	Percentage
15-25	328	30.7
25-35	282	26.4
35-45	228	21.3
45-55	142	13.3
Above 55	89	8.3
Total	1069	100.0

Table No. II—A.

Number of persons reporting specific worries (*i.e.*, worries

relating to definite factors or causes), their ranking,

and the weighted frequency.

Specific items of worries	Order of experience or ranging					Weighted index	
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Total	No.	Percentage
Inadequate income	475	202	20	—	697	593	21·9
Employment	508	120	12	—	640	572	21·5 } 89·8
Other economic matters	1150	144	6	—	1300	1224	46·4
Health	53	37	12	7	109	78	2·9
Educational matters	39	34	10	4	87	60	2·3
Social problems	20	11	4	1	36	29	1·1
Moral problems	9	5	2	—	16	12	0·4 } 10·2
Religious matters	3	4	1	—	8	7	0·3
Others	55	56	6	—	117	86	3·2
Total	2312	613	73	12	3010	2661	100·0

Table No. II—B.

Number and percentage of population reporting worries and that reporting no immediate worry in different age groups.

Age categories	Worried		Free from worries		Total
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
15-25	190	96·0	8	4·0	198
25-35	559	91·5	52	8·5	611
35-45	632	92·9	48	7·1	680
45-55	528	92·3	44	7·7	572
55-65	289	89·2	35	10·8	324
Above 65	128	87·1	19	12·9	147
Total	2326	91·9	206	8·1	2532

Table No. II—C.

Extent of economic oriented and non-economic oriented worries.

Age categories	Economic oriented	Non-economic oriented
15-25	91·1	8·9
Rest of the population	89·6	10·4

Table No. III—A.

Extent of frustrated population and that of having no frustration in different age-groups (in percentage)

	Age groups					
	15-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	55-65	Above 65
Frustrated population (%)	88·2	85·3	87·3	87·2	83·5	85·8
Population reporting no frustration (%)	11·8	14·7	12·7	12·8	16·5	14·2

Table No. III—B.

Comparative incidence of frustration in different age-groups
(Index : Average for all classes = 100 Base)

	Age groups					
	15-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	55-65	Above 65
Degree of incidence for the frustrated population (index)	109·1	95·6	96·3	101·5	109·1	97·4
Degree of incidence for the total population (index)	111·8	94·5	97·5	102·5	105·9	96·42

Table No. III—C.

Variation in the extent of frustration during the reference period (%) of total population reporting

	Age groups					
	15-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	55-65	Above 65
(i) Increase (%)	75·0	72·7	71·3	72·5	69·40	73·9
(ii) No significant change (%)	17·7	21·0	22·9	22·7	23·3	19·4
(iii) Decrease (%)	7·3	6·3	5·8	4·8	7·7	6·7

Table No. III—D

Percentage of total population reporting different frustrations in different age groups (%)

Frustrations	Age groups					
	15-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	55-65	Above 65
Boredom	36·9	29 9	26·3	32·6	31·2	21·2
Isolatioo	12·8	11·2	10·4	13·0	13·5	15·3
Intellectual starva-tion	0·5	1·3	1·3	1·5	1·2	4·6
Blighted hopes	49 7	32.0	31·3	28·3	26·4	25.1
Emotional depres-sion	26·7	21·3	21·0	24·7	26·4	21·2
Disturbed sleep	6·4	6·7	8·3	11·2	16·8	21·2
Sexual problems	5·9	5·6	5·4	5·0	5·4	5·3
Fear in daily life	18·7	16·2	18·3	13·6	14·4	11·9
Nervous straio	18·7	25·3	24·0	24·6	31·5	27·8
Unwholesome & pol-luted atmosphere	49·2	46·4	45·9	46·9	45·3	36·4
Strenuousness of work	25·6	21·1	19·9	26·9	20·1	13 9
Too much ooise	5 9	6·1	9·2	7·3	7·8	9·3
Lack of free move-ments		4·9	6·1	8·0	6·3	9·0	1·3
Others		2 5	1·0	1·4	1·3	1·2	1·3

The foregoing evidence is conclusive about the mental tensions imbalance, uneasiness and frustration in the minds of our youths which characterise their current behaviour. So far as students as a class are concerned they are anxiety-ridden, and have many tensions and basic fears. Their linguistic proficiency being low, their experiences in studying are of discomfort, disinterestedness, bewilderment, boredom and frustration. They feel courses to be uninteresting, lectures to be uninspiring, examinations to be a curse, teachers to be a poor lot, and authority to be corrupt and weak. Future being uncertain and merit being considered to be a doubtful basis for job selection, future prospects appear to them to be gloomy. Besides, they have a sense of neglect in their families, a sense of being lost in the crowd (in the class, in the college, in the university, in the society), and a sense of condemnation by the society. They feel to have lost status, and by and large, they have also lost self-esteem considerably, and perhaps confidence too.

(ii) The Space

It refers to the entire social matrix and the culture complex in which the youth lives, works and plays. *In view of the time dimension in which boys and girls of the specific age group are born and brought up,* secondly, *in view of the social space through which the process of their socialization has taken place,* (social structure, institutions, relationship and value system, etc.) one finds a phenomenon of too rapid, too deep and too drastic changes. The very dimensions and the rate of change, along with the structure and content of change, involve far-reaching and tremendous impact on youths as on other classes. In this new era of social change, *the traditional characteristic of our society—caste-ridden, rigid and closed society*—authoritarian system of social regulation, predominantly agricultural and industrial economy, group-oriented political life, and dominant religious views are giving place to class-structured competitive open society, **contractual relationships,** growing commercial and industrial economy, individual-oriented political organization, and *scientific world view.* This presents a *situation of flux,* rather *hyper-dynamism, which by its very nature uproots from the past moorings,* and *results into a situation of flow,* the direction of which cannot be easily determined and guided. There is a good

deal of uncertainty, a departure from the past; economists call it disequilibrium; sociologists, a dysfunction of the social structure, and psychologists, a state of emotional imbalance. There is no escape from it, and thus not for the modern youth.

This is not to deny the possibilities of social dysfunction leading temporarily to a general social sickness at a point of time ; a period of spiritual lassitude and moral fatigue, a state of stagnation, or decay, or a backward step in the process of social evolution, or a deep depression in the graph of social history, or *dharmasyaglani* in terms of the Gita or *donarotha badha* in terms of the Durga-Sapta-Sati.

It should be of interest to note that the degree of impact on the two ages being different the gap between the two ages is greater at present than that in the past. The older generation having spent its formative period during the times of slow changes has relatively lesser degree of flexibility in outlook and temperament. Its toleration and adaptability lagging behind the current change in outlook, attitude and in the very tempo of life the behaviour of the younger generation appears to it to be of negative value.

A word about the space in which our students live and carry on their intellectual pursuits may be worthwhile. Under the system of mass education, now students come from all classes, many of them having little traditional respect for learning. Apart from a relative lack of cultural sophistication the economic situation is rather anguishing. The atmosphere in the educational institutions is neither conducive to intellectualism, nor to the development of youthful aspirations. It provides neither any intellectual curiosity, nor social training in its wider sense. In the process of learning, students do not experience any excitement, or thrill, or delight, or even interest. There is very little incentive for hard work either. On the other hand, the physical conditions are too poor and shabby in looks, inadequate in requirements and haphazard in arrangements. Administration is hierarchical in constitution and in spirit ; and its main interest is not the quality of intellectual performance of teachers and students. Many activities are intriguing ; the influence of politicians has deepened and sharpened it ; and its effect is highly demoralising. By and large, teachers have ceased to have a moral influence on students which is primarily due to

deterioration in their own morals. They have ceased to act as 'friends, philosophers and guides'.

(iii) The Action or Behaviour of Youth

As mentioned earlier, it assumes value in relation to its effects. It is termed misbehaviour when generally it is non-conformative. There is no difference of opinion regarding the definition of the term 'non-conformative' (*i.e.*, one which presents a negative value, a pathological situation, social maladjustment, damaging cherished values, endangering social stability and happiness, etc.). But there can be a difference of opinion regarding the content of conformative. In technical terms, deviation from the norm is not necessarily of a negative nature. Whether one action is a dysfunction, or a normal function, is behaviour or misbehaviour, can be decided only with reference to goals. Therefore, all actions of our youth which present a departure from the past norms cannot be termed misbehaviour only because they are departures. Many a time it is sheer conflict of the two ages. The older generation experiences changes in behaviour of the youth, and instead of adjusting itself to the new forces and factors psychologically feels panicky. Really speaking, the situation is not so explosive as is being generally painted.

Coming to the action of students which is popularly termed as misbehaviour one finds innumerable instances of disproportionately violent and passionate actions in comparison to their causes. Even after knowing and accepting them I am inclined to feel that an average student is just what he can be under the situation ; he does not present a pathological situation, nor has he (in comparison to other classes) suffered from erosion of values and morals. There are some problem situations and some problem cases. no doubt, and they need attention *as specific ailments*.

Besides, (illustrating the point from the physical world) manifestations in the form of electric heat or light are simply *resistance* to the pressure of the current. The force with which the ball returns from the wall only represents the force with which it was thrown to the wall. The violence and the miscarriage of social norms exhibited in our students current behaviour is looked from the other side, only the pressure or the repression exercised by the elder generation and our social system. Violence indicates (among other things) two things : one, degree of repression of the youth-

ful aspirations by the society, and two, the inner moral strength of the younger generation. The other shows that the youth has not accepted the current sub-standards, and their conscience is clear enough not to tolerate the injustice and the wrong. It will be wrong to treat it as a sign of inner deprivity. On the other hand, it is a sign of moral strength. Force in their action is imparted by youthfulness and by pent-up feeling.

THE PROBLEM SITUATION

The problems relating to misbehaviour of our youth in general and of students in particular are fairly well known ; hence their enumeration can be avoided. We may straight away look into the causes and circumstances leading to them, and particularly to the extraordinary responsiveness and the disproportionate degree of violence, passion and indiscretion of students to seemingly ordinary, minor and unconcerned matters.

Every specific behaviour presents some psychological symptoms. They are responses to specific emotions, feelings, experiences and situations. As such the cause (or causes) of any particular act of misbehaviour may be located near or distantly. The apparent or the immediate cause may not be, and generally is not, the real or the basic one. Regarding the current behaviour of our modern youth this is, to my mind, a more realistic situation. The analysis presented in the previous pages is revealing about the background of the life and behaviour of our youth at present and it further proves that the basic causes of incidents or accidents which are termed as misbehaviour (within academic institutions, on play grounds, in election campaigns, in cinema halls, in railway trains, in market places, or in any situation of public or private gathering where youths come in contact with other groups) lie far deeper in the life of the society, and are located far distant from the immediate situations, or the scenes of occurrences. Our economic and social system, and so also our educational system, presents considerable space and experiences where youthful aspirations and impulses get suppressed, generating hidden resistances, and consequently developing predispositions to restiveness and even aggressiveness. In the peer group, youth gets some status, recognition, and strength. And whenever there are occasions, even seemingly minor, (and quite

often there are reasonable grounds and long neglected grievances)
the pent-up feelings, because of being accumulated, burst into
passion and violence, which in their objective forms are dispropor-
tionate to the causes. The basic causes, therefore, are : (*i*) econo-
mic strains of the family, (*ii*) restive predisposition and emotional
imbalance of the youth, and (*iii*) various conflicts arising out of
the social change and the present crisis of morals. It leads to ton
important conclusion that the problems relating to the behaviour
of modern youth are not primarily ethical problems, but economic,
sociological and psychological. They are essentially the problems
of society in general and not of a particular class. At base they
are problems of the age (the stage of transition in India), and
the problems arising out of the conflict of ages (the older genera-
tion versus the younger generation).

Some Broad Hypotheses and Suggestions

The first, though most simple yet I think vital, suggestion is
that we should stop talking about it as 'misbehaviour' or 'iodiscip-
line' of youths. Let us take it as a phenomenon of current social
change.

It follows from the previous analysis that the question of
great importance is the current state of social sickness, which may
be termed as prevailing social or moral anarchy, or as disintegration
of values, or as 'disorganized dust of individuals'. Lasting solution
under the situation necessitates complete social reconstruction, or
transformation of man. *Briefly speaking, this implies establishing
a new integral socio-cultural order with dominant familistic human
relationships.* (The term 'familistic' is used here in its technical
sociological sense, and should not be confused with our joint family
system).

Coming to the specific group of youths some useful lines of
approach or measures may emerge if we put the following ques-
tions to ourselves, and try to answer them. Are other groups and
classes showing better behaviour ? Are we through our conduct
putting an example before our youths of the type of life we wish
them to live ? And are our youths enjoying opportunities to learn
and practise the ideals and values they are expected to cherish ?

My personal feelings are that we (members of the older gene-
ration) are not performing well their duties towards the youth,

Proper psychological, social and physical environment and situations needed for emotional balance, for the development of basic human values and even for a proper democratic conduct of life, in short for a proper cultivation, or culture of hearts and minds for our youths are wanting. Talking in terms of an overall investment in our youth one finds evidence of a serious neglect. This should be considered not only a costly mistake, a lack of imagination, a danger to the nation, but a failure in our current duties towards our children.

If the answers to all the foregoing questions are in the negative, as to my mind they are, the right solutions are not difficult to think of. The social system should be adjusted so as to minimise conflicts and building up of resistances and aggressiveness in the youth. He is to be given definite status and role in society. The home or family life should provide to him emotional security. The economic system should minimise economic strains, and should further provide him with a sense of security and incentive for hard work and progress. The peer group should provide self-respect and moral courage. Secondly, the aggressive energy should be redirected and the outbursts should be re-channelled into creative purposes. A good deal of improvement will be effected in the situation by providing useful engagements through a wider opportunity of gainful employment. Thirdly, regarding the treatment of acts of misbehaviour it is necessary to substitute the present hate-inspired and antagooism-oriented approach by that of creative love. Contemporary psychology, sociology, and biology show that the energy of love is necessary for generation, continuity and growth of living forms, survival and multiplication of species and for maintenance and integrity of human individuals *i.e.*, a life-giving form necessary for physical, mental and moral health. Love is an effective force against fear, hate and mental disorder ; it works even against criminal and suicidal tendencies. Besides, it brings about moral ennoblement of man.

Ordinarily, for dealing with an act of misbehaviour when it has actually occurred, we are inclined to feel that the appeal of the method is according to individual's own personality structure, own image of the self, own social status, and things of that type. How-

ever, one can refer to the four theories in this connection ; (i) *The Good and Evil Theory* which generally appeals to authorities ; (ii) *The Knowledge Vs. Ignorance Theory* which has a wider appeal and is mostly liked by liberal minds, (iii) *Emotional Vs. Reason Theory*, and (iv) *Maturity Vs. Immaturity Theory*, which are appreciated and advocated by psychologists. The authoritarian approach is most inappropriate since misbehaviour involves some tension, and violence should not be replied by counter-violence. Hate generates hate, and repression breeds discontent and bad feelings. The latter multiplies antagonism since it feeds on irritation and bad relations which it creates. Since it is essentially a problem in human relations it should be dealt with more on psychological and emotional planes and through a theory of love and sympathy.

So for as the problem of misbehaviour amongst students is concerned, the whole educational system needs to be reformed. Education must be made exciting and a happy experience to students. And the influence of politicians on educational institutions must be minimised. It is too much to expect politicians to do it by themselves. It is just beyond them, (though they may talk of a code of conduct towards students and educational institutions) because of the basic metal they are made of. It is for the teachers themselves to do it. In this regard, educational institutions as a class have to stand up and the lead is to come from universities. *i. e.*, the big ones in the class. Within the educational institutions timely and sympathetic action in regard to the needs and grievances of students will remove most of the chances for acts for misbehaviour. Here is the real role of individual institutions.

Teachers have a great responsibility in regard to this problem. In order to have a moral impact on students, to make education an inspiring and creative mental activity, and particularly to educate the society for a proper approach towards the social change, teachers have to put their own house in order. And they have not to wait for anybody else to tell them, since it is their responsibility to apply the corrections. They occupy the pivotal position in the educational system. They should guide both the students and state. In the absence of teachers guiding students politicians have taken the place, since youth needs guidance and seeks guidance. Teachers are to be the intellectual leaders of the society. They have to develop

courage and strength to overcome or counteract all the unhealthy influences in the educational system. The current attitude of helplessness on their part cannot be justified.

It is very much desirable to establish in each educational institution (after higher secondary stage) an additional post of Students' Welfare Officer (or call him or her the Human Relations Officer, or by any other more appropriate term) whose normal function will be to deal with the problems of human relations in the institution, particularly to deal with students' problems. The proctorial system operating in universities and colleges (though it has its value) has not proved effective in dealing with the problems of misbehaviour. The basic approach of it and its method are authoritarian. In place of proctors, human relations officers through, psychological and sociological approach, should be able to deal with the problems of misbehaviour more effectively in educational institutions. It involves additional finances. But it is a necessary investment in human resources, specially the youth, who must be brought up properly in order to safeguard the country's future.

Lastly, it follows from the foregoing that for the improvement of the situation relating to the behaviour of our youths and students what they themselves have to do is comparatively very little. What they have not to do is, of course, quite a bit. On the positive side, they should try to make the best of the bad educational situation, and freely but peacefully express their genuine difficulties and problems. Peaceful way is as effective as the violent one and is more humane. They should avoid the disturbing of academic life, use of violence and damaging of property. All these things harm them and serve no purpose. It only weakens their case. By far the major part of the task is to be accomplished by the other groups (the elders). And secondly, in regard to the student's problems what the individual institutions have to do is again comparatively much less than what the State and society have to do. Thirdly, teachers as a class have, however, to contribute very substantially to the total reconstruction of the society, the educational system and the students as a class. As a matter of fact, they should actively take up the case of students now in the right perspective.

The case of students is only manifestly that of indiscipline ; it is basically that of social and educational reconstruction. Really speaking the case of students and that of teachers is mutually interdependent ; I think it is one and the same. Hence it is in the interest of teachers themselves to take up the students cause. The strength to the cases of both will be provided by mutual understanding and cooperation.

Students and Politics In India : The Dangers of Studentocracy

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The eruption of students as a force in Indian politics today is a disturbing but by no means an unusual phenomenon. Students have been in the fray in many countries both democratic and dictorial and student movements are not unknown even in totalitarian states. But the underdeveloped nations stand out prominently seem to provide a fertile soil for student unrest and indiscipline. In many parts of Asia and Africa and in Latin America students are a force to be reckoned with. Far from ignoring them, Governments and leaders of opinion go far in conciliating the student community and seeking to win them over. In Indonesia, students have emerged as a new "power elite." In 1965 they paralysed universities in that country and were, in fact, running them for all practical purposes. Communist elements in the university succeeded in getting rid of professors or deans who were not sympathetic to Communism ; they sought to control teaching, the selection of text-books to he used, protested against American books, insisted on weeding out "subversive literature" from university libraries and demanded the teaching of Marxism as a doctrine in all courses in higher education. Indonesia presents an example of dangers of "studentocracy" under the guiding influence of dominant political forces.

In India, students have been on rampage for some time and the movement has gathered intensity in recent years. Student movements have had a long history and constitute a part of national development since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They played a key role at the time of the Partition of Bengal and contributed to the "mass" politics under Tilak and

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later under Mahatma Gandhi. While some of the early liberals like Gopal Krishna Gokhale saw the dangers of student participation in politics and had sounded a note of warning against its future effects, politicians in the Gandhian era sometimes secretly —sometimes openly—encouraged students to come out of schools and colleges and throw themselves into the struggle. Nationalism under Gandhi had a pronounced undertone of anti-Westernism and provided to students a powerful stimulus to abandon the "Western-type" schools and colleges in the country. As important result of this period of our history has been to bring the college and the university into disrepute—not as place of learning where it was once privileged to be admitted but as a public" office with which one had to be associated for a while to secure a degree. The historical background—indicated here only with a few broad remarks—is essential for understanding the problems of unrest and indiscipline among students today. No one seeking to understand them can afford to ignore this history ; here as in most social problems, history is the lamp under which facts have to be viewed and examined.

Complexity of the Problem

However, history provides only one angle to a complex and multi-dimensional problem. Student indiscipline is rooted in the socio-economic conditions of an underdeveloped country. It has many causes and some provocations and calls for careful handling by educationists and politicians alike. There are long-term reforms which are needed and short-term solutions which have to be applied with courage and conviction. More important is the need for a commitment to educational values and to democracy which is all too scarce in the country. I shall indicate in this paper some of the more serious elements in the situation which give rise to frequent resort to violence by students.

Unplanned Expansion of Higher Education

The most striking and perhaps the most alarming feature of Indian development during the last decade and a half is the expansion of higher education. Between 1950 and 1968 the number of arts and science colleges in the country increased tremendously. The enrolment of students has gone up from 3,10,000 to

its thrice. In response to regional pressures, the number of universities has steadily increased under conditions which make the maintenance of any meaningful standards impossible. Underlying the expansion of university education has been the belief that in the past, education has been a preserve of a small elite and ought, in a democratic country, to be broadened out so as to provide educational opportunities to as many people as possible. The mere quantitative expansion with limited resources combined with the scarcity of qualified and competent teachers, and pressures on the admission of students of the backward classes and reservation of seats in specialized institutions have contributed to a lowering of standards which makes nonsense of the university degree. The statistical expansion of the institutions of higher learning has led to several serious consequences which contribute in different ways to student restlessness and indiscipline. In the first place, the very size of the Indian classroom, most of whose members have been admitted without any definite educational criteria, and handled by teachers who often lack both knowledge and capacity to put their ideas across in a meaningful and effective form, gives rise to mischief, often of a very innocent kind, meant to annoy the teacher or break the monotony of instruction. Overcrowded classes convert students into a crowd which has its own patterns of behaviour. In the better universities, a good part of this youthful animal energy dies out by the time students branch off into fields of study of their own choice. But where learning is not suitably graded and where the educational system is not sufficiently rigorous, students cease to grow. *When youth stops growing we have to the beginning of trouble.* Educationists, politicians and the public seem reluctant to raise the quality of education, while condemning, at the same time, the lowering of standards. Examination papers, all over the country, are set by Boards of Examiners, which are expensive devices for throwing the responsibility of the question paper on the external examiner but this evasion of responsibility is hardly necessary in view of the general conspiracy between internal and external examiners to draft question papers which most of the students can answer without any elaborate preparation. An intelligent question rarely gets into the paper in most of India's universities. Some 40,000

question papers are thus set all over the country ! When one takes into account the remuneration paid to examiners together with the air or first class fare paid to them, one gets an idea of the extraordinary waste of resources in a country where universities do not have the basic minimum of facilities for their alumni. The tenderness shown by examiners and paper-setters towards candidates must be viewed along with the inaptitude of some of the universities in the administration of the examinations. In one of the universities—a hot-bed of student indiscipline—examinations are "conduced" by authorities and students together ! The only function of an invigilator is to ensure that every candidate copies from his own notes which he brings to the hall and does not snatch his neighbour's papers and thus precipitate conflicts in the "examination" hall. Even after this force, it becomes necessary for the guardians at all levels of society, from ministers down, to approach examiners for the award of grace marks.[1] This practice, which has been a part of the Indian educational system almost since the time of its beginning, is one of the most vitiating factors. The system is calculated to bring the teacher into utter disregard ; why should teaching be important if there are other established channels of getting through ? An extraordinary feature of Indian education is that inspite of all these practices considerable number of students fail even to pass. However, the overall effect of the system is to produce graduates who not only contribute to the growing unemployment but to the class of "unemployables." What the system produces, in fact, are stunted individuals with no sense of direction. One of the facile assumptions in underdeveloped countries is that education *per se* would contribute to progress. It is time educationists realized that educational expansion at the expense of *quality is highly dysfunctional* to the system and productive of much harm.

The overall effect of Indian educational institutions is, to use the striking phrase of Professor Maurice Duverger, the "cretinization" of youth. The products of our universities, for the most part, are incapable of genuine intellectual or cultural interests and do not even understand the society in which they live. The "emptiness" of their lives is f'''''' '''' ''y the commercialization of

entertainment, by film and film music in particular. The effect of
the Indian film on the youth of the country has, strangely enough,
escaped research in our universities and in the departments of
applied psychology. In the absence of such systematic research,
it is difficult to feel confident when one writes about the influence
of films. But the world of the Indian film attracts youth by its
very inanities, its absurdities and its romantic escapism. Indian
films are a clue to the psychological tensions of a transitional
social system in which old values are rapidly breaking down with-
out being replaced by other values meaningful for an emerging
society. The phrase "emerging society" is perhaps misleading,
for the youth are not aware of anything emerging. They feel
trapped, on the contrary. The relative freedom of the celluloid
world presents a striking contrast to the inhibition and restric-
tions of traditional homes, with their authoritarian traditional
values.² As the film represents one world of "freedom", the
college provides another³. A part of the restlessness of youth
is probably a reaction to the restrictions of authority at home ;
when an authoritarian parent is replaced in society by equally
authoritarian teachers, vice-chancellors and university authorities,
in general the spirit of revolt is in the air. It is a fact of psycho-
logy, that frustration often results in aggression. The restless-
ness of youth in a transitional Indian society is now documented
in a vast amount of research which educational authorities ought
to take into account in approaching student problems. Even the
posture often adopted by authorities of being solicitous of student
welfare can be condescending and patronizing. Such attitudes
will probably do more harm than good. Above all, the tendency
to be patronizing to students and treating them like misguided
adolescents must be scrupulously avoided. Such a remedy will only
aggravate the malady.

Wastage in Education

The indiscriminate admission of students to colleges and uni-
versities has a direct bearing on the general unrest. Only a small
number of students who are admitted to college succeeds in getting
through with a bachelor's degree. The failure at the Intermediate
and the B.A. examinations is very high, not because of rigid
standards but simply due to the fact that many of them are just

unsuited for higher education. When one takes into account the money spent by parents on the education of boys and girls in college who have failed to make the mark, *together with the money spent by the Government on libraries and equipment, the loss to society works out to staggering proportions.* But this loss pales into insignificance when one takes into account the frustration of youth who are left defenceless in a cruelly competitive world. *It has been pointed out that the failed graduates of Indian universities provided no small part of the fodder for political extremism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.* In one of his addresses, Dadabhai Naoroji drew attention to the close link between the growing violence of his day and the casualties of the educational system—the large numbers of educated unemployed :

"A wild spirited horse, without curb or reins, will run wild, and kill and trample upon every one that came in his way. A misdirected force will hit anywhere and destroy everything...... He who runs may see, that if the present material and moral destruction of India continued, a great convulsion must inevitably arise, by which either India will be crushed more and more under the iron heel of despotism and destruction, or may succeed in shattering the destroying hand and power."[4]

If this was true in the days of Dadabhai, it is even more relevant to the crisis in Indian education today. Under the three five year plans educated unemployment has steadily increased. In such circumstances, the university becomes the external symbol of the misfortune of individual lives and the popular frustration is naturally directed towards this target. It is important to note that the psychological tensions of poverty and unemployment provide the soil for extremist philosophies and social attitudes. In his *Nehru : A Contemporary Estimate*, Walter Crocker writes :

"It is hard to escape the fear that the main achievement of Nehru's economic and social policy will turn out to be social disruption ; and this will break out into violence, thanks on the one hand to the legacy of violence from the days of nationalist agitation, and on the other, to the vast mass of detribalized neo-literates being turned out[1] in the post-independence schools.

For in the haste to modernize, Universities and University students have been multiplied with the result that there is an inflation in educational standards, which have become diluted as the money. Moreover, there are not enough jobs for the graduates. The same is true of the schools and the school matriculates. *India has thus acquired some of the essential ingredients of the classical prescription for Communism.*[5]

Professional Students on the Campus

Indian universities and colleges, particularly in north India, have on the campus a large number of professional "students" who having failed in examinations, and having nothing to look forward to, take upon themselves the role of student leaders. When one considers the fact that student unions are often wings of some of the political parties, the presence of student politicians is seen as disturbing agencies in the situation. Increased mobility in middle-ranged towns thanks to the bicycle has provided the needed mobility for galvanizing students into activity. It is often noted that of all sections of society, the student community has the best "communications system." Organizing students for agitation or violence is much easier than it is to bring them together in the pursuit of more constructive tasks. Students in India are rarely articulate about the real deficiencies of the university. Shortage of books and equipment and other amenities rarely spark off student agitations. Student politicians do not organize their followers for genuine academic reasons but only to create conditions which political parties can further exploit.

Students and Political Life

The world of Indian politics as it reveals itself to youth in its formative years is one of widespread indiscipline, lack of ethical standards, low public morals, corruption in high places and mediocrity all round. Disorderly behaviour in Parliament and State Assemblies and violence in mass agitations, frequently publicized in newspapers put a premium on these social forms of behaviour. A jangled political world is reflected in the outlook and actions of the student community. One often hears the homily that sound democratic traditions must be built up in the country but one seldom notes any earnestness about the actual processes by which this result can be brought about.

Democratic values and forms of behaviour are imbibed by children and by youth in the formative years of their life by servation and by meaningful participation in community life. Indian society provides few opportunities for such participation and the behaviours models of the elders are gross violations of democratic norms. The process of political socialization in the values of a free society are thus arrested. It is not surprising in the least that students are, for the most part, *apolitical* in their outlook. This sounds like a weird paradox in the context of massive student agitations and violence in the country. Students have probably a higher degree of native idealism than any other section in society but the idealism receives brutal shocks everyday. Unless political decorum and ethical values permeate society at other levels, it seems futile to expect the student community to have any standards or show any degree of restraint.

Authority and Authoritarianism in Academic Institutions

The Indian classroom at all levels and the attitudes of university authorities is largely authoritarian. This is reflected not only in the learning process in which knowledge is "transmitted" rather than jointly explored by teacher and student ; it explains too, the absence of student participation in classroom instruction. In many universities, vice-chancellors throw their weight about and top officials are seldom available to students, not even to the faculty. A kind of *rigid caste-system prevails with all its accompanying evils*. Now, the secret of authority lies in the degree to which its power and influence are accepted by those who feel the consequences of decisions. Formal authority *tends to disappear as soon* as the subordinates discover that its possessor lacks the character and ability to exercise that authority. Where a person of such authority also tends to be authoritarian, a sense of *humiliation* and resentment is produced which takes on an aggressive posture. Authority cannot assert itself unless it has integrity, courage, competence and creates the image of *impartiality*, reasonableness and a certain determination to maintain standards of discipline. Authority, which is incompetent, weak and vacillating, seeking cheap popularity with its constituents, blatantly unjust in the exercise of power and frankly partisan in relation to castes or language groups must necessarily provoke contempt and anger.

Edward Shils has noted this weakness io the Indian university when he writes: "Autbority, which—out of either priocipled liberalism, ioternal divisioo, fear, or iocompetence, or a mixture of all these—is unable or unwilling to impose itself, appears to the Iodiao student as weak authority. A weak authority exercised by the hesitant, the divided, the corrupt, the derogated and the unworthy is oo curb oh the rehelliousness in the heart of the Iodiao student. The hesitation of university and college authorities to respond to often legitimate student desires, aod their somt- times cowardly alaerity to yield when threatened with open in- discipline, further discredit these authorities. The remoteness of this weak autbotity, its hureaucratic impersonality, its lack of convictions as to its own validity, do not satisfy the need of the Indian youth for a unitary, immediately present, integral and morally pure authority."[6]

Uoless there is an "administrative revolution" and a change of outlook io university authorities, no remedy will work—neither cajoling hor threats. To call the police in to save o situation is only to aggravate the situation, for the latter enjoy nn better reputa- tioo with the student community.

Yielding to Organized Pressures

More than one commentator oo the politics of mass violence in India has hore testimony to the fact that the Indian Government and buteaucracy have only responded to organized pressure and violence.[7] University authorities, likewise, have shown o such a tendency. In the politics of agitation nothing succeeds like suc- cess and the Indian student has realized the power of collective action. In such a situation, the university administrator who seeks to win the favour of the students has already lost the battle before it has begun : and the administrator who makes a needless display of authority provokes a conflict which he is bound to lose. In his essay on "The Administrator," Robert Maynard Hutchins speaks of courage as the first and most important quality which an administratnr must possess. In the present educa- tional crisis in India some wise counsels have been given. Mr. V. V. John writing in the *Times of India* (October 15, 1966) rightly observ- ed that in public life there is nn substitute for courage.

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Education in Values : Socio-Philosophical Perspectives

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The Education Commission has laid special stress on the importance of education in social, moral, and spiritual values in all the educational institutions in India. The Commission observes thus :

"The weakening of social and moral values in the younger generation is creating many serious social and ethical conflicts in western societies and there is already a desire among some great western thinkers to balance the knowledge and skills which science and technology bring with the values and insights associated with ethics and religion at its best, viz., a search for the knowledge of the self, of the meaning of life, of the relationship of man to human beings and to the ultimate reality. In the situation that is developing it is equally important for us to give a proper value-orientation to our educational system......What we would like to emphasize is the need to pay attention to the inculcation of right values in the students at all stages of education."[1]

In the above statement the Education Commission emphasizes the need to pay attention to the education in social, moral and spiritual values. In a similar vein, Richard Livingstode, Former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford makes the following significant observations :

'To build up in every man and women a solid core of spiritual life, which will resist the attention of everyday existence in our mechanized world—that is the most difficult and important task

of school and university....The real modern problem is to humanize man, to show him the spiritual ideals without which neither happiness nor success are genuine or permanent to produce beings who will know not merely how to split atoms but how to use their powers for good."[2]

'The ultimate aim and essence of education is the training of character to be achieved by the discipline of the body, the will, and the intelligence."[1]

The above statements of Livingstone point out the importance of spiritual ideals. In order to promote education in social, moral and spiritual values in India, it is necessary for teachers and educators to understand the common values of life recognized by the different religions of the world. Hence the task of education about values of life involves the clear elucidation of the nature of the common universal values of life.

In order to tackle the above problem, it is necessary to formulate the theoretical assumptions in order to form the conceptual base line for the purpose of formulating an acceptable pattern of education in values of life. Human life is a quest for peace since every individual whether he is a doctor, or an engineer, a teacher, a leader, a social worker, a scientist or a labourer wants peace of mind. Every man or woman ardently desires mental peace and happiness.

If human life is a quest for mental peace then what is mental peace ? When the mind is dominated by healthy and positive thoughts and feelings of love, truthfulness, goodwill to all, sympathy, courage, humility and contentment and unselfishness it becomes calm and quiet and the flow of these positive thoughts and feelings resembles the lovely, rhythmic flow of the waves of a river. Thus the above positive thoughts and feelings promote mental peace and it may be stated that mental peace is the state of mental health. In other words, mental peace which is the state of mental health is the result of the relative dominance of the healthy and positive thoughts and feelings of pure, universal love, truthfulness, courage, unselfishness, goodwill to all, sympathy, kindness, humility, contentment and cheerfulness.

The above state of mental peace is disturbed whenever the mind is dominated by unhealthy and negative thoughts and feelings of

lust, anger, hatred, greed, selfishness, arrogance and jealousy. Then the mind is restless and it is like a turbulent river whose waves are irregular and as observed during floods. This state of mental restlessness may be regarded as a negative unhealthy state since negative thoughts and feelings such as anger, fear and anxiety cause unhealthy physiological reactions to the body. Medical research has shown that excessive emotional disturbances cause the excessive secretion of hydrochloric acid in the body and this leads to the development of stomach ulcer.[6] Some psychological experiments have shown that anger and fear cause abnormal physiological changes in the body such as high pulse rate, irregular breathing and rise in blood pressure. So it may be pointed out that mental restlessness which is the result of the relative dominance of the above negative and unhealthy thoughts and feelings is detrimental to sound mental and physical health.

On the basis of the above analysis, it may be stated that the healthy and positive thoughts and feelings are the upward and healthy expressions of the lifeforce (the Self) that is present in a person, while the unhealthy and negative thoughts and feelings are then downward unhealthy expressions of the life-force (the Self) that is present in a person. It may be said that the upward healthy expressions of the life-force constitute the higher self of a person, while the unhealthy, lower expressions of the life-force constitute the lower self of a person. From the above philosophic psychological frame of thought of the present writer, it may be stated that the Self (life-force) in an individual is a spark of the Universal Life-Force (Universal Self) and the Omnipresent, Eternal, Sublime. Universal life-force is known by various sublime names in the different religions of the world such as God, Jesus Christ, Allah, Rahman, Ahura Mazda, Paramatma, Om Ram, Om Sri Venkateswara as well as by various sublime and scientific terms such as Sat-Chit-Ananda, Existence-Knowledge-Bliss peace, Pure Universal Love-Force, Truth-Force, Beauty, Thought-cum-Feeling, Force, Nature and Energy. Science admits the existence of the life-force in an individual which expresses as thought-cum-feeling force to the mind. The religious thought of the world regards the life-force in an individual as eternal and as a part of the Universal Eternal Reality. Bhagvan Das in his book, *Essential Unity of All Religions* rightly observes thus :

"The feeling and the implicit and explicit *recognition*, of the omni-presence of the larger self, and of one's particular smaller self being a part of, and subordinate to it, as a cell or a tissue in an organism, this feeling, this recognition may be said to be the quintessence of religion, or religiousness' of Conscious Conviction that every finite is created, ideated, maintained, 'held together,' and periodically manifested and indrawn, by the Infinite ; this, and corresponding *philanthropic desire* and *action*, may be said to make up the whole religion."[4]

It is the Awareness of the *existence* of the above mentioned Eternal, Sublime, Universal Life force which promotes the relative dominance of sure thought-cum-feeling force in the mind when a person experiences mental peace and enjoys mental health. *It is the ignorance of the existence of the Eternal Sublime, Universal Life-force which is the cause of the relative dominance of the un-healthy, lower thoughts and feelings in the mind. So it may be said that it is the sublime awareness which is the foundation of mental peace.* The sublime awareness is the result of spiritual knowledge regarding the existence of the Eternal, Sublime universal Life-Force. Again it is the implicit faith in the sublime Universal Life-Force which promotes inner spiritual Awareness.

It is the fact of the *existence* of the one, Sublime, Eternal, Universal Life-Force which is the basis of the concept of the Father-hood of God and the Brother-hood of Mankind. It is this spiritual fact which is the basis of the concept of one World Family in which all men and women are brothers and sisters. The universal song of Spirituality is the sublime song of universe and love which springs out of the awareness of one universal Life-Force in every individual, whether he is an American, or an Indian, or a Russian or an Englishman. R.Das rightly points out that the one purpose of Religion is to bind the *hearts of human beings* to each other and to God. Realization of self in all as God in all, and consequent service of all as service of God, is perfection and completion of Religion.[5]

In order to lead peaceful life and promote social welfare, it is necessary for a person to possess physical health since the human body is the medium for the expression of pure, healthy and positive

thoughts and feelings. Physical ill-health is detrimental to mental health and mental ill health is detrimental to physical health.

It may be pointed out that it is lower self-control which is the foundation of physical and mental health. For example, over-eating and taking negative unhealthy articles of food such as condiments, liquors, coffee, tea etc. cause digestive disorders and constipation. Lack of moderation in conjugal life is detrimental to sound health. Harsh and dirty words wound the feelings of fellow-men and cause social disharmony ; negative and impure thoughts of lust, hatred, anger and jealousy promote mental ill-health. So it may be stated that it is lack of lower self-control which is the root cause of ill-health while self-control or total purity is the basis of health.

In brief, it may be said that it is implicit Faith in the existence of one, Eternal, Sublime, Universal Life-Force which is the basis of mental peace which is the state of the relative dominance of healthy, and positive thoughts and feelings of pure universal love, sympathy, goodwill, unselfishness truthfulness, humility, detachment contentment and cheerfulness. Universal Love and selfless social-service which spring out of the above Sublime Fact of one Universal Eternal Life-Force are the basis of the concepts of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Mankind and these contribute to social welfare and universal peace. It is total lower self-control or total purity and truthfulness which are the foundations of moral, noble and healthy life. It seems to the present writer that the above aspects constitute the essential unity of all religions and they form the essence of the technique of sublime living now and here which is the art of peaceful healthy living and promotion of social welfare. Thus in nut shell, the values of peaceful, healthy life and social welfare and universal peace are : the common sublime (spiritual) values namely faith in the one Eternal, Universal Life-Force, Universal Love ; the common social values, namely selfless social service and the common moral values, namely total lower self-control or total purity and truthfulness.

In conclusion, the following suggestions may be offered for effective implementation of the recommendations of the Education Commission pertaining to education in spiritual, social and moral values.

Firstly, it is the supreme duty of every teacher in every educational institution to endeavour to practise sincerely the common sublime social and moral values of life in order to exercise whole some effect on the personality of the educand.

Secondly, at least fifteen minutes every day should be devoted to silent community universal prayer and meditation in every educational institution in India and the teachers and the taught should mentally chant with deep feeling a few sublime (universal thought) patterns such as:

Omnipresent, Eternal, pure, peaceful, kind, loving, Sublime Universal Life-Force.

Light and Truth ! Adorable and Loving Universal Divine Father, known by various Sublime Names in the various religions such as God, Jesus Christ, Allah, Rahman, Ahura Mazda, Om Ram, Om Krishna, and Om Sri Venkateswara as well as by various sublime and scientific terms such as Truth, Life-Force, Pure Universal Love, Universal Peace, Pure Thought-cum-Feeling Force, Knowledge Beauty and Energy !

May peace, Health, Happiness and Purity be unto all !

May all the individuals in the whole world who are our brothers and sisters and friends becomes integrated, courageous, peaceful, healthy and harmonious personalities and be aware of the omnipresent Sublime Light of Universal Love, peace, purity and joy now and here !

May peace, goodwill and co-operation abide among individuals as well as communities and nations !

Thirdly, at least fifteeen minutes every day should be devoted to the study, for recitation or writing of a few selected elevating stories and teachings of the great religions, social and moral personalities of the different countries of the world which centre upon the common spiritual social, and moral values of life namely implicit faith in the Eternal Universal Life-Force, Universal Love (or Love of Humanity), selfless social service, purity and Truthfulness by the teachers and the taught in educational institution in India.

Lastly, special importance should be given to the organization of frequent social service activities and the celebration of different religious festivals and different birthdays of the various religious, social and moral personalities of the world.

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Literacy and Education

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Great stress is being laid in independent India on the spread of literacy and education as an inseparable part of planned economic development. Education is said to provide the basis for socio-economic progress ; it is also regarded as one of the most important instruments of pursuing egalitarian goals. The approach adopted by educational planners so far is, however, only operational and technocratic. Concern for educational development is generally synonymous with demand for greater investment in the installation of educational institutions and the creation of material prerequisites. This is undoubtedly a welcome development. But the creation of opportunities is only the first step ; the proper utilisation of these opportunities is influenced by complex factors outside the control of the educational planner and the aspirants for literacy and education. The identification of these factors leads one beyond the proximate forces. In order to acquire an insight into the factors which impinge on the utilisation of educational opportunities, it is necessary to acquire an insight into the working of the socio-economic structure and the trends of socio-economic change. Broadly speaking, educational opportunities are better utilised by those regions and classes of population which are economically more prosperous and socially more dynamic and organised. In contrast, those classes and regions which are economically backward and socially inert and unorganised suffer from serious handicaps in utilising available educational opportunities.

An attempt is made here to provide some empirical substantiation of this hypothesis on the basis of the data relating to two backward villages, one from the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh

and the other from the Bankura district of West Bengal. The surveys and resurveys of the first village were undertaken by the Agricultural Economics Research Centre, University of Madras and of the other by the Agro-economic Research Centre located at Vishwa Bharati, Shanti Niketan about eight years back.

Pathikonda : a case study

The Madras Agricultural Economics Research Centre has prepared a report on "Changes in Rural Society (1955-56 to 1960-61) —A Case Study of Pathikonda, Chittoor District, Andhra Pradesh". The Report throws light on many inter-related aspects of education on the one hand and social structure on the other.

Changes in literacy and education in Pathikonda

Taking an overall view, the percentage of literacy in Pathikonda was 22% at the first point of survey ; the increase at the second point was only negligible, the percentage being only 22.7%. It can be seen that in absolute terms, while the number of literates had gone up from 209 to 233, the population of the village had increased from 950 to 1956. Population thus increased at a much faster rate than the literates.

Caste-wide distribution of literates in Pathikonda

Variations were quite marked as between the different caste groups.

Literacy among castes in category I viz, Lingayats and Vyasas was very high ranging between 50% and 65%. At the same time, at the second point of survey, the overall percentage of literacy had fallen among the Lingayats from 64.3% to 61.6% and it had increased among the Vyasas from 52% to 61.9%. The decline in the case of Lingayats was due to a greater increase of population at the second point while the increase among the Vyasas was because of a sharp decline in the population.

Literacy had increased among all the Castes in category II except among the Elyas and Voddas where it had registered a decline.

Among castes in category III, including Valmikis and Harijans, the percentage of literates was very low ranging between 7 and 10%. The increase in literacy among these castes was negligible.

*Another arresting fact about the literacy situation was that the,
percentage of child literacy had gone down for all the castes
except for Reddys and Viswa Brahmins in category III.*

The position regarding female literacy also shows interesting
variations as between different castes. It is noteworthy that percen-
tage of literates was very high ranging at about 50% for *Lingayats*
and *Vyasas* (Castes in category I) However, it had not shown any
marked improvement at the second point of time. Stagnant or
even deteriorating situation obtained in this respect for castes in
category II except for *Viswa Brahmins* in which case female literacy
had increased from 25% to 66.6%. In the case of Harijans, the
percentage of female literates had increased from 3.1% to 7.9%.

It is evident that there was no significant improvement in
the overall percentage of literates in the village at the second point
of time ; further with the exception of some castes in the upper and
intermediate categories the overall position of intermediate and
lower castes in respect of literacy had not registered any significant
improvement either absolutely or relatively.

Change in the number of school-going children

It is noteworthy that, according to the figures available from
school registration, the school had 50 students at the first point
(1955-56), 33 of whom were boys and 17 were girls. At
the second point (1960-61), there were sixty-seven students.
It is surprising that increase in numbers on rolls was not corro-
borated by the figures collected at the household level. On the
basis of the household survey, the number of school going students
declined from 77 at the first point to 67 at the second point.

Changes in the level of education

The details regarding the level of education elicited in respect
of each individual person in the village are given below :

	1955-56	1960-61
Able to read only	Nil	Nil
Read and write	Nil	17
Upto elementary	196	18 / 221
Upto Higher Elementary		17
High School passed	11	9
Matriculation	Nil	1
College	2	3
All literates	209	234
Total Population	983	1064

Thus while the number of literates has shown a certain increase,

the number of school-going children has declined and the position in respect of education beyond the primary level was by and large static.

Kashipur : another case study

The second study analyses "Socio-economic Changes between 1955-60 in Village Kashipur, District Bankura, West Bengal."

The data relating to village Kashipur suggests the following changes in literacy and education at two points of time (1955-60).

1. Literacy percentage of adult males and females fell from 36.0% to 28.7%, of school going children from 4.05 to 1.3%, while the percentage of illiterates increased from 65.88 to 70%.

2. What is more striking is, however, the sharp fall in literacy from 42.3% to 31.3%, and of school-going children from 10.31 to 4.1% in the age group 15-24. The data suggests that the winding up during the intervening period of the literacy centre started in the village at the instance of the CDP must have contributed to this decline in literacy in the 15-24 age group. The centre was catering mainly to the children of the depressed castes who worked during the day and attended the school during the night.

3. Literacy status seen of different occupational groups showed a striking fall. Literacy among agricultural labourer males (including school-going adults) fell from 2.5% to 6% at the second point of time. This decline is also attributed to the withdrawal of the literacy programme earlier undertaken under the auspices of CDP. Further, there was deterioration in the literacy status of almost all the other occupational groups during this period except in the case of owner cultivators.

4. A caste-wise study of literacy during the period revealed that though the literacy status of the non-scheduled caste Hindu population was near about 50% at the second point, as compared to 4% of the scheduled caste population, there was no significant improvement in the case of any of the castes during the intervening period. In fact, there was no school-going adult among the depressed caste population at the second point.

5. Considering another sensitive indicator of change in educational status, the extent of school registration, it is found that while population of school-going children had gone up from 74% to

86% among cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned, the percentage had fallen from 75% to 41.7% among cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and from 33.3% to 38% among agricultural labourers. The winding up of the night school is again the main reason for this sharp decline in the case of latter two groups.

6. A similar case wise study showed that while the percentage of school-going children had increased among the non-scheduled castes from 82.2% to 83.3%, among Edkas Tilis and 50% to 100% among Tilis, it had registered a sharp fall among the scheduled castes—from 31.3% to 13.3% among Lohars, from 44.4% to 6.7% among the Bagotis and from 100% to nil among the Koras.

7. The data also shows that among the owner cultivator and smith families who had made significant progress in respect of education of their children, 4 children had already reached the high school stage and one each bad appeared in school final and higher secondary examinations. In terms of achievement, this was the higher ever recorded in the village.

8. To sum up, "during the four-year period, the owner cultivator and the smith families associated with the so-called upper castes had improved their position in respect of school education of their children. And at the same time, agricultural labour, share-cropper or non-agricultural day labour families mainly associated with the depressed castes were deprived of the little facility of education they had been enjoying before."

9. The study bring out the divergent pattern of changes in respect of education among the land owning groups belonging to upper castes on the one hand and share cropper, agricultural labourer and non-agricultural day labourer families, on the other revealing the existence of a virtual dual society in the village. The study notes the existence, as it were, of "two communities" within the village, "one representing the landowning group associated with the non-scheduled caste population and the other representing the landless, agricultural and other manual labourers associated with depressed castes". The former were in a better position to avail of facilities of education as of other opportunities provided by the development programmes while the latter were handicapped from benefitting from these facilities because of their economically inferior status and their almost complete preoccupation with procuring the basic minimum necessities of life.

The data relating to changes in educational status among different castes and economic groups in the two selected villages, it will be seen, shows a mixed pattern. In the Andhra Pradesh village, the upper castes maintained and one of them even improved their literacy status. Among the intermediate castes, five of the seven caste groups improved their status while others showed a decline. Among the lower castes, there was an increase in literacy rate but it was so insignificant that it amounted to near stagnation. Beyond the primary school and intermediate level, education was by and large confined to upper and some intermediate castes.

In the Kashipur village, the literacy pattern had changed in opposite directions between the land-owning upper castes on the one hand and landless lower caste groups, on the other. While the literacy rate had shown some improvement for the landowning upper caste groups, it had registered a steep decline in the lower caste groups who belonged to the class of tenants, share-croppers or non-agricultural manual labourers. On the whole, however, in both the villages a situation of near stagnation prevailed in respect of educational progress.

Conclusion

The findings of the case studies of these two selected villages provide important insights into the working of education programmes in a traditional, stratified rural society. The overall averages of the rates of increase/decrease in literates and the education are very deceptive indicators of the actual, (contradictory) processes as they obtain among divergent castes and economic groups. Even when the overall average may have declined, the upper castes may have maintained or even improved their literacy and educational status over a point of time. If this hypothesis be true, it appears that the mere creation of facilities for literacy and education does not necessarily ensure equality of opportunity in regard to education in reality. Strong socio-economic impediments stand in the way of the underprivileged social and economic groups from fully utilising the available opportunity to their advantage. The strategy of promoting literacy and education has, therefore, to form part of a wider strategy of promoting social and economic development with special emphasis on the economic and social uplift of the underprivileged sections of rural society.

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Language in a Pressure Cooker

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I have borrowed the title of this article from the similitude with which Mr. N.S. Jagannathan concluded his "Consensus on Language" (The Hindustan Times, April 4, 1968). He warns us that having wasted 18 years without doing anything significant to implement our professed language policies, we may not now try to compress an educational span of a generation into five years by a process analogous to pressure cooking. He would have us make a new beginning and proceed with due deliberation to impart the required proficiency in three languages to every pupil at the right stages in his progress through primary and secondary school. He would postpone decisions about the official language and link language until a new generation, skilled in three languages, emerges from the universities. Considering what has happened and is happening the process cannot be hurried.

Powerful Force

There is unanswerable logic in the contention that decisions about the use of languages should be made by people who know the languages. And if they did know the languages, problems of communication may be solved by processes other than formal legislation. At the moment, however, with 350 million illiterates in the country and with a serious recession in the level of language studies even among the literate, our language squabbles are largely a dispute over which languages we shall be illiterate in. Among us today, the resistance to learning languages is a more powerful force than the desire to learn them. Our own experience and happenings in other countries like Canada and Belgium should warn us not to underestimate the explosive character of this resistance and of language disputes generally. Hence the wisdom of making our language decisions in a calmer environment then the present.

This is not a plea for postponement, but a plea for wiser approach. The whole psychology behind our language policies is in need of a radical change. Consider the way the three-language

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formula was evolved. The formula would have won more sincere adherence in the country at large if its origins had been educationally respectable. In its original formulation by the Chief Ministers in 1961, one of the major considerations was the equalization of disadvantage or difficulty. This approach was unscholarly and anti-educational for we started with talking of the 'language load' in the curriculum. Learning is primarily an experience of joy, and ultimately the acquisition of mastery. No one who thinks of a language as a load is in any psychological condition to learn it. What we did with Sanskrit in school, and are currently doing with English and may be doing eventually with the rest of the formula, would prove this point.

It reminds one of the story of the old man, his son and their donkey. When the story begins, they are riding the donkey, but at the close they are carrying the donkey. This is a symbol of our language load. Instead of language being to us a charger that we mount and ride into the wonderland of knowledge, we have turned it into a donkey that we painfully carry on our back. No wonder we protest against any suggestion that we should carry three of these beasts.

It is unreasonable to expect children to learn languages to 'equalize difficulty' and to satisfy a political formula that was devised to solve problems that the clumsiness of grown-ups have created. Instead of seeking to bully or trick people into learning languages, we should seek the answer to our present problems in the more patient procedure recommended by Dr. Triguna Sen, of replacing 'compulsion' by 'motivation.' Children should learn languages to meet identifiable needs. The Government should, instead of compelling people to learn three, four or five languages according to the political whim of the moment indicate what cadres of the public services will need language proficiencies beyond the mother tongue. Similarly, universities should indicate what languages will be required of those pursuing programmes of higher studies. In the present temper of the country, it would be wise to define language requirements for careers and for programmes of advanced studies, and leave the students to choose rather than compel them—vainly—to conform to patterns set by people who themselves stopped learning long ago.

Amidst the succession of confident formulations of the three-language pattern, there was one that showed great realism and wisdom. But it was soon smothered and suppressed amidst all the din that followed. One is reminded of what Churchill once said about Baldwin. Every now and then, he said, Baldwin stumbled into something sensible, but he soon picked himself up and went on as though nothing had happened. The lucid interval I refer to was the suggestion made by the MPs committee that considered the Education Commission's recommendations. They recognized that not every Indian needed three languages. The MPs' committee produced a two-plus-one formula, which would oblige every secondary school pupil to learn two languages, with an option to learn a third, for which facilities should be provided. Except that one of the languages should be Hindi or English, they would leave the choice of languages to the schools and the pupils. In the long run, this pattern would have eliminated certain ugly elements in our language situation, namely the resistance to compulsion, the complaint about the language load and the prevalent hypocrisy in implementing the three-language formula. It would have enabled the learner to relate his choice of languages to the needs of the career and/or the programmes of advanced studies that he has in view.

Time Schedule

Once we accept a rational formula for our language studies, the way to implement it effectively is to adopt the procedure that Mr. Jagannathan has suggested. Since we do not at present have the language proficiencies we seek, and the present situation is one of some confusion, there is the need for making a new beginning. Far from being a plea for postponement, it is a plea for going into meaningful action instead of endlessly conferencing and making speeches. The problem is not solved by someone in Delhi deciding that as from a specified date, every educated Indian would be deemed to know three languages, even though we have not made any arrangements for imparting the required proficiencies. It remind one of the way we eradicated cholera. Cholera did not vanish according to schedule, but we decided to call it gastro-enteritis henceforth. Uttar Pradesh has already discovered that, to implement the three-language formula, it would need 20,000 teachers of Indian languages other than Hindi, and so nothing can be done in a ꞏ rry.

The time schedule that Mr. Jagannathan has proposed can however be abridged. Beginning at the beginning, that is, with the first grade in the next academic year, he allows 15 years to produce the first generation of linguistically competent persons to come out of the universities and make an informed and intelligent decision about a common language and related matters. Since the mother tongue is already being taught in the primary schools more or less effectively, the new schedule could be reckoned from the stage at which the pupil begins to learn a second language. This would normally be grade five or six. Working on a twelve-year schedule for schools, those pupils who begin on the new programme in grade five will be ready to leave school in eight years, and could be expected to have taken a third language at some stage, perhaps grade nine, during this period. It should be made a part of the new programme, that the second and third languages be taught so efficiently that at the end of 12 years of schooling, the compulsory study of all language could be discontinued, as recommended by the Education Commission. This would mean that the new programme would produce its first linguistically competent school leavers in eight years. Any enforcement of the three-fold skill in languages for entry into the public services for which university degrees may normally be required, will have to be deferred till these school leavers take their degree. A maximum twelve years should however be sufficient.

Modern Methods

The success of the plan, as of any version of our language formulae, will depend on our use of modern methods of language learning. Before we try to force the pace of change in the matter of official languages and suchlike, it is necessary to force the pace of our learning process. The procedures now followed in our schools take too long to do too little. This is true of the entire curriculum, but it is particularly true of language studies. This would explain why, even after eleven years of the mother tongue and five or six years of English in school, we still continue compulsory courses in these languages at the college stage. This must stop. A student should not take more than five years for acquiring a reasonable proficiency in any language. Any use of the language beyond the five years would be justified only if it is used as a tool for thinking and self-expression of a mature order.

In the period between now and 12 years hence, there will have passed through our schools and colleges several million students, for whom special transitional programmes will have to be devised. To preserve the status quo for them and to leave them alone would be unwise, for, in the immediate future, their numbers may have the effect of counter-acting the effectiveness of the programme prescribed for those who would be leaving college twelve years hence and after. Somewhat of the pressure cooker procedure will have to be designed for their language studies, and without the language imperatives that will come into force 12 years hence, their learning may be no less effective because it would be optional and could be made competitive.

It is not true that languages can be efficiently learnt only at an early stage in a child's development, and that once that stage has been missed, later efforts would be unavailing. But it is true that language policies cannot prevail in a democratic society until people have had the time and the opportunity to learn the languages concerned. If the obvious fact is not taken into account, it will spell disaster either for our language policies or for our democracy. May be, for both.

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Towards a Sociology of the Problems of Indian Education

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The paper does not aim at the treatment of all or even most of the problems of the Indian education and it certainly does not make any effort to fall in line with what our celebrated educationists and teacher-educators very often think. As a sociologist of education, the author is not attuned to think of a problem or a host of problems in isolation. The societal context is the most fundamental thing which must be taken into account while discussing or even thinking about any problem. The author has a serious objection to the manner in which our teacher-educators have been identifying and discussing the problems of Indian education in their classrooms, books, articles and even in seminars and discussions. Their traditional approach has been to think of these problems in watertight compartments like the problems relating to primary education, problems of secondary education, or the problems relating to educational administration, those relating to examination and evaluation, those concerning curriculum etc. The problems are identified superficially and no effort is made by most of them to fix priorities in the consideration of problems with the result that the articles and books on problems of education tend to appear as catelogues, of course, classified ones, of inumerable problems which one finds unsurmountable. The manner in which these hundreds of problems are treated is also very stereotyped. The causes and extent of the problem under discussion are described by borrowing quotations from socalled great educationists and a great deal of impatience is shown to present their solutions but in the end to underline that the problem is not likely to be solved due to lack of finances, qualified personnel and other

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resources. Thus the beginning as well as the end beat the drums of despair.

The real problem of the problems of the Indian education thus discussed is that no effort is really made to scratch the crust of these superficial problems and to realise that integrated thinking alone can take us out of the mess that has surrounded us in the educational world.

When the author was invited to deliver a series of lectures to the teacher-educators of different universities attending the Summer Institute on 'Problems of Indian Education' organised by the National Institute of Education at Bangalore during May-June 1968, he intended to come to grips with the fundamental problems which are the mother-problems of all the ills and maladies of the educational system of our society. The following four problems appeared to him to be crucial to the understanding of this whole area :

1. Multiple dimensions of conflicts in values and their implications for education in India.
2. Social malaise and the context of education in India.
3. Socio-cultural lags in education at different levels.
4. Teaching profession as a problem profession.

A brief elucidation of these fundamental problems will show how they are at the root of a wide-spread situation of dissatisfaction in the Indian education. The societal context in which these key problems need to be discussed is that of social continuity as well as that of social change in all walks of Indian life. Thus considered, these problems cut across the contours of several fields of studies like administration, curriculum, planning, innovation, evaluation, guidance, methodology etc., and various levels like pre-primary, elementary, secondary, higher secondary and college or university education. Not only so, they appear before us in their naturalness for our integrated analysis from the prespectives of a board social science and not just that of sociology, philosophy, economics, education or the like as singled out disciplines.

Value Conflicts in India

If we are broadminded and possessed of social sensitivity, we can find out several dimensions of value conflicts in the contemporary Indian society which affect the social institution of education from its outside as well as inside. Traditionally, we have been having value conflicts between upper castes and lower castes and between

one religion and the other. While these conflicts still continue in an aggravated quantum, we have been caught up in several value conflicts between Indian and Western values, between tradition and modernity, between rural and urban values, between intellectuals and non-intellectuals, between majority community and minority communities, between any two social classes, between the political ideology of a Congressman and that of a Communist, Jan Sanghi or a Swatantra, and between the political masters and the masses. The integenerational conflicts as as off-shoot of the conflict due to tradition versus modernity is there all the time and at all the places where the young and old come together. All these conflicts exert pulls in different directions and that is why we have failures, dejections, shocks, heart-breakings and the like. They affect the educational system in four significant aspects : aims, content or curricula, institutional arrangements, and values of the actors involved in the drama of education enacted by us and before us. Thus, for example, we are not as yet sure whether we wish our educational system to go in for the modern values only or for traditional values or for a synthesis of both of them and if so how. Similarly, we do not find it clear whether we ought to persue the goals of the industrial society or of a simple agricultural or pleasant society that we have been having in Indian since the hoary past. The aims guide the content of education and that is why we have so often complaints such as that a certain textbook contains chapters prejudicial to the interests of a minority community or to a certain caste or that a particular curriculum rejects middle class values in the children of lower classes. While we aspire to build a secular and democratic society through education, our non-secular and authoritarian cultural moorings are always there to keep us incapitated to materialise our dreams. Thousands of our young children are literally messacred in their educational careers by the ignorant, if not knowingly or intentionally acting, teachers and administrators whose activities are motivated by cultural prejudices or by a lack of correct understanding of their role in the confusion caused by the numerous value conflicts. The growing malady of student unrest is also largely due to these conflicts. The resistance to innovations or change in education put by the teachers can very well be explained by these value conflicts.

Social Malaise in India

Value conflicts combined with several wantonly broken norms of behaviour due to rising levels of selfishness, egocentrism, favouritism, nepotism, corruption, poverty, unequal distribution of opportunities and amenities and the sense of insecurity or minority consciousness etc. have caused social malaise in the country which has affected the educational system also in its vitals. The ruffled political scene, the unstable nature of our democracy, the growing economic hardrhips of our people, the unabashedly explolitive posture of our Ineffieient bureaucracy and several other social factors have in one measure or the other contributed to the perpetuation and gradual expansion of the social malaise in India. So much so that we now find, as the eminent sociologist Professor M.N. Srinivas has rightly pointed out, "the two basic assumptions underlying a democratic country are fast disappearing in India today. The first assumption is that India is a single country and that all owe allegiance to it, and loyalty to any part of it being only secondary. The second assumption is that *all* disputes, whether between different states or other organizations, and over *all* issues, will be settled by debate, discussion, negotiation, arbitration or adjudication...The result is the widespread situation of *anomie* or total lack of moral norms in the political and other fields...The only eonrensus seems to be that the orderly representation of grievances does not pay but only agitation does..."(*Seminar*, February 1967).

Does this social malaise not explain very vividly why politicians defeated at the polls often start public schools or *ashrams ar vidhyapihs* or become vice-chancellors of universities ; why administrators and some politicians join hands in fleecing poor teachers in matters like their appointments and transfers and in making money in prescribing text books ; why teachers feel restive all the time ; why educated people do not get jobs fairly ; and why thousands of students fail every year due to negligent examiners who specialize in securing several examinership from different universities and boards but get the scripts marked by their favourite students ? While we all talk of the principles of educational administration and supervision and very much wish the headmaster, the principal or the inspector to do his job efficiently and honestly, we should not loss sight of the factual position that the social malaise is so widespread and so compelling that few honest educational administrators can really lead normal

social life and breath the air of freedom. How can a teacher check student's indisciplinary activities in his classroom when the daily newspapers carry news and pictures of politicians shouting or hurling paperweights at or abusing the speaker in a legislative assembly ? Where prides and prejudices of politicians determine the bread or no bread, education or no education, life or death of this or that group of people or region, one should not feel surprised if the golden planning rational of today is flouted tomorrow as a result of some political expediency. In the political tug of war between the Centre and the State, the cause of education is bound to suffer in innumberable ways. If Basic education has been eremeated with no regrets, if several educational reports have been silently shelved and if several educational innovations have never fruitified in our country, it is no use blaming the teacher alone or voicing the lack of financial resources responsible for such failures. The real causes lie deeper in the seedbed of social malaise in the country and ignoring them would only throw the educationist or researcher a little farther than the territory of his existing ignorance and darkness. The cause of equalization of educational opportunity is bound to suffer under these circumstances.

Social Lags in Education

While analysing educational problems in the context of social change in India, we are greatly helped by the famous concept of 'cultural lag' given by the distinguished sociologist Ogburn. When material and non-material aspects of a culture develop at an uneven pace, a lag is bound to emerge which might be dysfunctional to the achievement of goals or objectives of development or social progress of the given society. We in India are witnessing how from kindergarten or pre-primary stage to the research stage, such lags are growing more and more day by day. While big science laboratories and tools have been provided in several schools, colleges, universities and research institutions, the standards of administrative efficiency and fairness are at a low ebb and there is a lack of morale-boosting. Where devoted and efficient workers are available, material appurtunences are in insufficient supply. A paper plan may be excellent, but from the execution point onwards, only its corpse may be paraded. Some how or the other, the people in schools and colleges in India have failed to realize the importance of the provisions that the

nation has been able to make for the sake of education of its younger
generation. There are no wide spread efforts to raise the levels of
specializations, work efficiency, work morality, social sensitivity and
real understanding of situations in teachers.

Teaching : A Problem Profession

The root problem of the innumerable problems of the teaching
profession in India is that it has so far not emerged as a profession
in the truest sense of the word. At the school stage, teaching lacks
autonomy and the strong support of its members. The professional
organizations are not only financially as well as politically weak but
they are not sufficiently enlightened with the result that they rarely
go beyond publishing a few poorly brought out monthlies or exciting
broachures to adopt agitational approach once in a year or two. The
education of the teacher and the maintainance of a desirable standard
of work-morality and efficiency in them have so far not been their
concern. The professional preparation of teachers is poor due to
various types of lags and the lack of proper provisions for the process
of socialisation to continue. Teachers' cliques and the built-in inertia
in the educational system largely pronounce the failure of the
teacher's labour in his classroom. So varied are the expectations
of the different groups and sections of people from a teacher that the
latter is confused as to what to do and what not to do. Freedom,
creativity and joy are denied to the teacher by the society and the
educational machinery. Despite several efforts to raise his socio-
economic status, the teacher's lot is still miserable. His exploitation
at the hands of politicians, administrators, private controllers of
education and other pressure groups goes on very often unchallenged.
His alienation from the society as a result of his powerlessness is so
pronounced that even an illiterate farmer does not consider him
worthy of any respect before a *patwari* or a policeman. The 'why'
of all this sooner or later leads to a fact that the society is not all
wrong in according him a low position, for what after all is his equip-
ment or strength ? Is it not a fact that an average Indian teacher
has poor socialization and he lacks badly in intellectualism, empathy,
innovating attitude, sophistication and professional efficiency ? Does
he not find solace in conservatism and abhor the very symptoms of
social change ? How much is he inspired to perform his role as an
agent of social change in India ? While he teaches about coopera-
tion and unity in his classes almost every day, does he himself

cooperate with his fellow-members in the interests of the school and in the interests of his profession at large ? Most of the educational failures or hardships are certainly due to the weak stuff that our teacher today is. Teacher of imagination, sincerity, rational outlook and modern values can create miracles even in poorly provisioned schools, and this is precisely what most of our teachers *willy- nilly* fail to appreciate. How badly do we lack responsible and competent teachers !

Thus we have seen that the numerous problems of the Indian education need not baffle us since we have been able to locate their epicentres. The solution of these problems is really a challenging task. Unless the various institutions and associations of the society act in a positive direction, no fruitful result can be achieved by the schools or colleges alone. As teachers and teacher-educators, it should be our effort to strive for making improvements both within the school and in the society at large. Let us not be shy of joining hands with the different groups of people who can help us in making the teaching profession grow strong and in making our educational efforts successful.

Along with these points, it must be remembered that the Indian education has greatly suffered due its lack of Indian-ness. Recently Prof. M. N. Srinivas, our leading sociologist, has rightly emphasized this point in his press interview :

"I must say that one of the aims of Indian Education must be to make us good Indians. I shall...add that good Iodians are Iadians with nationalistic ideas and fervour. Indian education must aim at building a new India based on our needs and ideas. The cultivation of a sense of nationalism is the prime need. Without it we will go to pieces. Our present brand of nationalism is hysterical and hyper-sensitive. We have proved that our group identity, needs an outside enemy to keep it going. But the nationalism I mean which has to be a powerful motivator for development...We must hand over not an old, fossilized India, but a revitalized, 20th century country to our children." (*Times of India,* January 12, 1969).

Problems of Adjustment Among the Gifted Children

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In any guidance programme for gifted we are mainly concerned with the understanding of those problems of the gifted (intellectually superior) child which hinder his best development. We would therefore do well to make a rather searching analysis of the causes and conditions which give rise to these problems. In the absence of any research work done in India to study these problems, it will be useful for us to see what researchers have found out in other countries, especially in the United States where considerable work on the gifted has been done in recent years. Provided we bear in mind that the findings would not be wholly applicable to gifted pupils in India, the knowledge that we would thus gather will be beneficial for us from the point of developing a perspective to think. And then we have our own experiences to back us in our understanding of these problems in an Indian setting.

It may be safely stated that almost all of the problems or difficulties of the gifted result from " the blocking or denial of normal satisfaction" as is the case with average children also. Studies have shown that as a group gifted children are better adjusted both emotionally and socially and are above average in mental health. But there are many gifted pupils who experience serious difficulties in personal and social adjustment. The basic sources of these difficulties often lie in the home, the school and the neighbourhood. It is in these places where he comes in contact with people who have to play different roles in his life. To the extent that these roles played by parents, teachers, and peers are in accord with his unique needs he is likely to develop a healthy and well-adjusted personality. But since very often they are not, the problem of adjustment becomes a serious one for the gifted child. The picture is complicated by certain frustrating limitations of his own which are often imposed by the disparity between his advanced intellectual

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level and his less accelerated physical, social or emotional development.

We will now examine each situation in greater detail.

Difficulties arising from poor adjustment conditions in the home

There are many parents who would not understand the true nature of the gift and the significance that it has for the family and the child himself. They would consider the behaviour of the child as queer and would be sorely troubled by the fact that their child is unusual. Very often their own inadequacy to cope with the questions of the gifted child would lead to a rejection of the demands that the child would frequently make on them. They would be rarely in a position to provide him with the stimulation he requires or accept his pursuits which to them may be strange or abnormal. They would therefore try to mould his behaviour in a pattern which is more acceptable to them. This would obviously prevent the child from considering himself as a worthwhile person, able to achieve his goals. His unique abilities will thus wither away with disuse.

At the other extreme, we may find parents who would be ready at the slightest excuse to grow phony about the capacities of their child and would not hesitate to make a public show of them. Such parents are likely to distort the child's perception of his own self, and thwart his best development. While there are many parents who are overprotective there are others who would set increasingly standards as the child's abilities begin to unfold.

The presence of siblings who are markedly different from the gifted child in their intellectual capacity is likely to further complicate the situation especially if the latter does not happen to be the first-born. Being younger in the family he may suffer many deprivations which may affect his mental health. In families in which intellectual success or excellence is not put at a premium and where are not enough opportunities for intellectual stimulation the lot of the gifted is still more deplorable. As a fish out of water he feels troubled by the kind of his time in day-dreaming.

Problems resulting from lack of recognition on the part of the school

Since the majority of our schools are geared to the needs of the average child and consequently the teacher feels obliged to meet their needs, very often the gifted child in the regular classroom is neglected. The first consequence of this is that he fails to realize

his potentialities as student and consequently develops keen feeling of disappointment and inadequacy. He finds his curriculum less challenging and devoid of opportunities for self-expression and development of special interests. This is by far the most excruciating experience for him. He soon gets bored and disgusted with the teaching that goes on in the classroom, and may work off his excess energy in unprofitable mischief. He may interrupt the lessons by asking questions which may irritate the teacher. An antagonism may thus develop between the teacher and the child. Sometimes the gifted child may himself not like to express his real talents for fear of losing the sympathies of the teacher and those of his peers. Very often the classmates of the gifted do not regard him companionable because he talks about things they have neither done nor read about and he surpasses him in everything they do in the classroom. This is a serious difficulty with the gifted child in the regular classroom.

The lack of academic adjustment in the classroom very often leads to the phenomenon known as under-achievement. We are not concerned here specifically with the causes of underachievement among the gifted which are many and varied and which appear in different combinations in the case of each gifted child. Studies have shown that poor home conditions resulting in poor motivation, lack of recognition in the classroom, unequal peer relations, lack of academic inclination and low aspiration on the part of the child himself are some of the contributing causes of underachievement. Of these the less motivating home and classroom conditions have been found to be the major causes.

The likelihood of the gifted child underachieving in a regular classroom is much more than when he is in the company of children who are also equally gifted. The ease with which he can excel other less intelligent children of his class develops in him habits of laziness and acts as a deterrent to making efforts commensurate with his ability.

Difficulties resulting from accelerated intellectual development in relation to physical size

Social companionships often go by size and physical development. It is more likely that a five-year old child with retarded physical growth will enjoy the company of a child of three years having the same size and physical development than the normal child of

5 years of age. In the case of the gifted child where the rate of intellectual development usually surpasses that of physical development there is greater likelihood of his mixing with older classmates who are also bigger in size. While he may still outshine his peers in intellectual pursuits, he is likely to experience many failures when pitted against them in physical pursuits. A feeling of inferiority may thus develop which may make him less sociable. In moving with children of his own size for which there are not many opportunities unless he is placed with other gifted children he does not get the satisfaction of being with birds of the same feather. An emotional tension is thus built up which may show itself in such personality traits as seclusiveness, irritability, inferiority, etc. Failing to receive recognition in physical and social pursuits he is likely to devote excessive time and energy in his studies. Yet his feeling of success in school work may not compensate for his deep feeling of inadequacy resulting from lack of success in physical and social activities. It is common knowledge that some pupils who are greatly accelerated in school suffer from feelings of loneliness and inadequacy in social relationships. I know of a case in which a puny college freshman had to be shifted to the ladies' hostel by the order of the Vice-chancellor because the students in the Men's hostel made his life miserable by ragging him every now and then.

Problems arising from the child's inner feeling

The manifold problems which the gifted child is faced in the home and the school are often complicated by his concern with the meaning of the world and his destiny in it and questions like origin and immortality. His keen sensitivity, which is often the result of his high intelligence, becomes a source of many tormenting problems like the ones mentioned above. Not emotionally mature enough to find satisfactory answer to such problems he lives in a world of his own which is full of stresses and strains. In a regular classroom he does not get any opportunity discussing these problems with the result that they go on troubling him most of the time and create in him a kind of tension which must be resolved if a healthy emotional life is to he ensured.

It may be pointed out here that the problems discussed above are peculiar to the gifted child in the regular classroom where his intellectual needs are not satisfied and his ambitions are thwarted, where he finds little satisfaction in the company of those who are

pursuing goals and ends which are far below his own and where the teacher is usually less understanding.

Gifted children feel much happier and are better adjusted when they are in the company of other gifted children. This is what the author himself observed in the United States when he visited some of the programmes for gifted children in which they were placed together. When he questioned those children about how they liked such programmes they invariably answered that they liked the programme very much. It was mainly because the situation was much more challenging and hence more satisfying, and secondly, that they felt free to express their own ideas and discuss problems of their own liking. They felt that they received more regard and respect from teachers in special programmes than they got from them in the regular classroom, and that this experience was very much satisfying. They also felt that the general climate in such programmes was more conducive to learning and that they were greatly motivated to learn. It will, therefore, not be incorrect to generalize that maladjustment is not inherent in excellence itself. Very often it is the lack of understanding on the part of the home and the school which makes the gifted child academically, socially and emotionally maladjusted. An improvement in conditions in which the gifted child is placed will automatically solve many of the problems of maladjustment for the gifted. The following suggestions in this regard seem to be in order :

1. There is need to improve parents' understanding of the nature of giftedness. They should be informed about the characteristics that differentiate the gifted from the average child. Further, they should be given some idea of how to handle the gifted child in the home.

2. The school too has to be helped to develop correct understanding of the nature and characteristics of the gifted child. Teachers have to be trained to handle their problems wisely and with good care.

3. There is need for the school and the home to come closer in tackling the problems of the gifted.

4. The guidance services in the school should take special cognizance of the problems of the gifted. Arrangements have to be made in the school to meet the needs of the gifted. This is the problem of planning which needs very close attention on the part of the school authorities. The majority of our gifted children are likely to come from homes which lack facilities for meeting even the basic need of the gifted viz. intellectual satisfaction. What can the school do about it? Certainly, it should try to compensate for the intellectual impoverishment of the home. Identification of the gifted and planning for them thus becomes the first responsibility of each democratically minded school.

It is unfortunate that at a time when we need to employ our talent in the service of our nation we have not even started to think seriously about it. It is often argued that providing special opportunities for the gifted in the school would be undemocratic and would lead to class distinction. Nothing can be farther from the true principles of democracy where equality of opportunity never means identical opportunity. We are hardly aware that through such reasoning vast numbers of gifted children are faced with school work that is utterly boring and frustrating to them. They are thus deprived of the opportunity to utilize and develop their talents with consequent loss to themselves and to the society.

Caste and Class Tensions in Indian Education

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The current Indian social scene presents not only various caste groups which are determined by heredity and are, more or less, devoid of social mobility, but also some social classes which owe their origin mostly to economic and other prestige-inducing factors such as education and nature of job. Almost all castes and classes have some vested interests, and for that reason they exert pressure on various social developments. Each group, organised or unorganised, wants to secure more privilege for it than are provided to others. This creates all sorts of social unrest, thus giving rise to caste and class tensions. "Education" is one such social development in which every group has some vested interest. Naturally, every group, consciously or unconsciously, exerts influence on it thus bringing about various sorts of tensions.

The purpose of this article is to examine and study such tensions historically and as they occur in practice today. For the historical examination, some secondary sources have been tapped. For their present-day study, the method of observation and interviewing have been used.

As in most of the old societies, so in India, the philosophy or sociology, or for that matter, the philosophy of any social science, was largely evolved from the existing religious theories. Three main pillars of the Indian social system were (i) the castes, (ii) the joint family system, and (iii) the autonomous village. Human fragmentation into castes was the strongest of all these, and it appears that with the passage of time some kind of religious sanctity came to be attached with it.

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The total number of castes is unknown as no major study has ever been undertaken in regard to them. Nevertheless, there are four major castes known as "*varnas*". These are (*i*) Brahmans, (*ii*) Kshatriyas, (*iii*) Vaishyas, and (*iv*) Shudras. It is doubtful whether these "varnas" were originally based on heredity, but in course of time as religion started turning into rigid dogmas, these four major castes began to be determined purely by the fact of heredity.

Although the caste system provided unequal status to people, and consequently unequal chances to derive benefits even in education, yet by and large, caste tension in education were conspicuous by their absence. Some stray cases, no doubt, are found where classes for education did develop. But they were not very serious in themselves, nor did they affect the normal functioning of the educational system. This was perhaps due to the fact that the birth of each individual decided his share and fate in education. This, it appears, was supported by some kind of religious sanction although no definite proof exists for it. The Brahmans, as the traditions and practices which trickled down show, had the right to the highest education, while to the Shudras all education was denied. The middle two castes could claim as much of education as was normally necessary for the fulfilment of their socio-economic functions. Women, by and large, had no access to education. Thus there was almost a two track system as far as the sexes were concerned. This could continue because each individual resigned himself to a place in the social and educational field which was determined by the fact of his birth in a particular caste. This, to a very great extent, eliminated social unrest and as a result the caste tensions in education.

The Muslim intrusion did not bring about any material difference in the general pattern of Indian society. This was because of two factors. Firstly, the Indian socio-cultural cum religious system was quite flexible and catholic. It had the capacity to assimilate and sythesise. Secondly, except for a new religion, the Muslims did not propagate any new socio-economic system or even ideas. At best, it can be said that a fifth "caste" of Muslims was added to the already existing four. Since this class belonged to the ruling

between occupation and social class on the one hand, and between education and occupation on the other. Sometimes one of the above factors may give an indication of one's social status. As such we need not go into any discussion of these individual factors. Only this much needs to be stated that these major factors determine class status, and it is because of these factors that a hierarchy of socio-economic classes is visible today. In the process of the formation of this hierarchy, many values were thrown overboard; new values came in and cultural conflicts and social disorganisations took place. The old caste structure steadily got reorganised on these bases.

Before we pinpoint these different socio-economic classes, one thing must be pointed out. It is extremely difficult to demarcate scientifically the whole population into different groups on the basis of economic gains and socio-political power status. There are two reasons for it. Firstly, the society is in a fluid state with a high degree of social mobility. Secondly, the same economic income at different places in the country may not necessarily lead to the same status. Thus the boundaries of social classes are not well defined. They are mostly blurred. But even then the two main classes, the poor-class and the bourgeoise, can easily be identified. In between these two extremes, there are many intermediate strata referred to as middle classes. These have often been divided into three classes, which are lower middle class, middle middle class and upper middle class. Thus, the following five socio-economic classes are discernible on the Indian scene :

1. Poor Class
2. Lower Middle class
3. Middle Middle Class
4. Upper Middle Class
5. Power Elites

Poor Class : This class consists of petty and mostly unskilled factory workers, landless labourers, and other daily wagers. It constitutes a sizeable portion of the Indian population. Virtually both money and education have been denied to them. Naturally, they come lowest in the hierarchy of classes.

So far as the number of votes are concerned, this class is at the top. But because of lack of education and initiative, and organisation

in the political field, it lags much behind. Its members are the easiest victims of propaganda, and at the time of voting, their votes can easily be purchased. Since people from this class seldom reach the top levels, it can put little pressure on the powers-that-be for its benefit.

While some of the factory workers, although unskilled, are quite vociferous because of the new socio-political atmosphere of the cities, the landless labourers constitute a mentally and socially depressed class. On the whole, the aspirational level of the class is not high. Most of them can at best aspire for two square meals and other bare status. In the field of education, a literacy mark, that is, fourth or fifth standard, is the maximum to which their wards rise, although some exceptions may be there Comparatively speaking, this class, barring industrial workers, has come to accept its lot, and hence, is less discontented than other classes.

Lower Middle Class : The composition of this class is difficult to decide. Petty shopkeepers, workers of semi-skilled qualification, some better paid daily wagers, lower grades of clerks, primary and secondary sehool teachers, etc., can be included in this class. Economically they are better off than the proletariat. It is surmised that they are at least able to get two square meals a day. So far as their education goes, the secondary level is perhaps the maximum they reach. Then circumstances force them to take up jobs.

Members of this group are very conscious of their low social status and consequently suffer from a morbid inferiority complex and discontentment. A few manage to reach the top. They can really find some of the leaders who belong to them. But despite that they do not appear very effective at the top where policies are moulded.

Because of their status consciousness the level of their aspirations is high. They would like to have higher education and better jobs, for which some of them work ceaselessly. Actually, their attention is always on the social ladder and they would like to reach the highest rung.

Middle Middle Class : This group is the third largest group, and perhaps the backbone of the Indian social order. It serves as a bridge between the upper classes and the lower classes. Most of the members of this group belong to the professional classes. In

the field of education, this group is quite advanced and it produces some of the best brains. So far as economic position is concerned they are middle income group people. On the basis of their education and yearnings, they are very conscious of their social status. Sometimes they do things which are beyond their means, merely from a false sense of social prestige. They are afraid of associating themselves with the lower-middle class. Politically this group is quite vociferous. Some of them reach the highest echelons of the political hierarchy and the seats of power. Although they do not control the means of propaganda, some of them do acquire a good hold on it by becoming journalists, editors, etc. Since this group has a high aspirational level and they aim to reach the status of the upper middle class, they generally aspire for things which the upper middle class people possess. But as most of them are unable to get there, they feel bitter and condemn as luxuries, but as soon as they themselves come to possess them, they start supporting the positions and the contentions of the upper middle class. This is a group which wants the maximum advantages from the government by making the least of sacrifices itself.

Upper Middle Class: This is a comparatively smaller group and just above the middle class group. This class is a product of high English education, and on the basis of this education and better family connections, its members hold vital positions in the higher professions and the administrative set up of the country. Economically they are quite well-off and able to live luxuriously with many amenities of modern life. Although they come just above the middle class, their manners, fashions morals, etc. differ radically from the middle class. And this makes all the differences in their social status.

The members of this class tend to become bureaucrats and experts, and have a big hand in long-term planning and policy formation. Many of them would not hesitate to scuttle that policy which comes in the way of their aspirations. Their aspirations differ from the aspirations of others. They would never like their children to become great politicians, great writers, great artists, great social workers, etc. They only want them to occupy high places in the military, in the administration, or to become senior executives in other concerns.

This concentration of comparatively higher economic power, and

perhaps best academic and administrative power, makes them elites. Since there is no system of checks in the country, they wield great powers.

Power Elites : This is comparatively a smaller class. It consists of top politicians of the States and the Centre and big business magnates. It is doubtful if the educational achievements of this group are as good as those of the members of the upper middle class or even middle middle class, but because of the concentration of economic and political power, they enjoy higher social status. This class, either because some of its members occupy the seats of power or because some of its members, by and large control the press, has got a big say in the formulation of policy. This class influences almost all the government policies and practices. The aspiration of those who hold political power appears to be to accumulate economic power also, and the aspiration of those who have economic power appears to be to control political power as well. In fact, this combination is already there to some extent. Those who control economic power, control political power, too, in a large measure.

About the last two classes, Prof. A.R. Desai, the noted sociologist of India, has given a very provocative description. It is being quoted here although without full agreement. He states :

"This elite, comprising the upper and upper middle strata, has been elaborating hybrid culture which is decadently luxuriant, which is modern in form, but conservative and status preserving in essence, which is exhibiting itself through a display of glittering apparels made of nylons, shark skin, glittering decorons and rayons, with their standardized tailored business, Ambassadorial, Executive, Diplomatic, and others—a new status patterned style for the males, and vanity bags, puffs, lipsticks, long nails, and ornamental attires for the women on one hand, and petty caste, religious and superstitious life and feudal world outlook on the other."

There is inequality in these classes and this inequality often leads to antagonisms. In fact, Marx's whole thesis was based upon this factor. The Communist Manifesto referred to it when it stated, "The history of hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". There is no denying the fact that this antagonism does not rise to the apprehended intensity in societies which are highly industrialised and which provide more economic, educational and political oppor-

tunities. Moreover, Marx's prophecy about the "polarisation" of classes, and of the gradual disappearance of the middle classes, does not seem to be coming true, but it can be safely asserted that there are plenty of class antagonisms in India. They may or may not become as fierce as anticipated, and may or may not result in upheaval or revolution, but the class strains and tensions are there and are bound to continue in the present socio-economic context.

These strains and tensions are very much visible in the field of education, for, first, education in itself is a status symbol, and secondly, it also leads, to some extent, to the cultural and the politico-economic class status.

India got a democratic constitution ensuring some kind of equality of opportunity. For example, in the field of education, the constitution (Article 45) states : "The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years". But the difficulty is that the Article is not justifiable. This militates against the spirit of equality—the lower classes suffer on account of their economic backwardness. It is true that Article 46 gives the State the right to promote the educational interests of the weaker sections of the country, and it can be accepted that through freeships and scholarships, the Government has tried to raise the educational level of the weaker sections thus giving some recognition to the concept of equality of opportunity. But Article 30 (a) again tends to give uncontrolled rights of getting or providing education to those who are in a position to have it merely on the basis of religion and money. This Article guarantees the right to the minorities to establish their own educational institutions.

This means two things. One, the State is in no position to compel anybody to get education in institution owned, aided and controlled by the Government. Two, any section of the community is at liberty to open its own schools. This gives unequal advantage to richer sections who open their own schools. Thus education accentuates at many places the psychological feelings of inferiority and superiority in different groups. It may be pointed out that the new democratic, liberal and humanitarian environment has almost done away with caste tensions—for there is some kind of sanctity with these modern concepts and nobody dares to open schools for parti-

cular castes only. But class tensions are emerging with an equally ugly face. These tensions in education can be observed on the (i) national political level, and (ii) school-student level.

Class tensions are clearly visible at the top political echelons, socio-economic group level and even at caste community level. Sometimes tensions become visible because of the covert action of the members of these groups, and sometimes they become visible because of the covert talk on education of the members of these groups.

Opinions are available on all aspects and branches of education. We shall, however, limit ourselves to public schools and college education. There is a definite reason for this. Public school education, because of the English language which enjoys a prestigeous position in India, and is thus ultimately connected with economic gains, and college education because of its direct link with economic gains, occupy important places in the whole socio-economic and educational set-up of the country. Naturally, they are capable of creating more strains and tensions.

Two clear-cut opinions are available about the public schools. One favours not only the continuation of the existing public schools but also their proliferation. Those who take this side argue that these schools provide better education, and thus, produce intellectual aristocrats who are badly needed by the country. This view is supported by no less a person than M.C. Chagla, who has been our Union Education Minister. The opponents of the public schools also include top politicians. For example, Mr. Kamaraj has often expressed himself against such schools.

The opponents argue that these institutions militate against the spirit of equality. Some of them describe the very existence of such public schools as a basic contradiction in Indian democracy. The "plea" of producing intellectual aristocrats is also not accepted by these people. They feel that, if seen in the light of history, all aristocracies degenerate into hereditary aristocracies. They argue, more over, that the talent, the energy, and the genius will speak out them selves during the normal course of education. So there is no need of public schools. The opponents of public schools are sore primarily for the reason that most of those who get public school education do it on the strength of their money and not on the strength of their intellect. They want a general movement to curb privilege

tunities. Moreover, Marx's prophecy about the "polarisation" of classes, and of the gradual disappearance of the middle classes, does not seem to be coming true, but it can be safely asserted that there are plenty of class antagonisms in India. They may or may not become as fierce as anticipated, and may or may not result in upheaval or revolution, but the class strains and tensions are there and are bound to continue in the present socio-economic context.

These strains and tensions are very much visible in the field of education, for, first, education in itself is a status symbol, and secondly, it also leads, to some extent, to the cultural and the politico-economic class status.

India got a democratic constitution ensuring some kind of equality of opportunity. For example, in the field of education, the constitution (Article 45) states : "The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years". But the difficulty is that the Article is not justifiable. This militates against the spirit of equality—the lower classes suffer on account of their economic backwardness. It is true that Article 46 gives the State the right to promote the educational interests of the weaker sections of the country, and it can be accepted that through freeships and scholarships, the Government has tried to raise the educational level of the weaker sections thus giving some recognition to the concept of equality of opportunity. But Article 30 (a) again tends to give uncontrolled rights of getting or providing education to those who are in a position to have it merely on the basis of religion and money. This Article guarantees the right to the minorities to establish their own educational institutions.

This means two things. One, the State is in no position to compel anybody to get education in institution owned, aided and controlled by the Government. Two, any section of the community is at liberty to open its own schools. This gives unequal advantage to richer sections who open their own schools. Thus education accentuates at many places the psychological feelings of inferiority and superiority in different groups. It may be pointed out that the new democratic, liberal and humanitarian environment has almost done away with caste tensions—for there is some kind of sanctity with these modern concepts and nobody dares to open schools for parti-

cular castes only. But class tensions are emerging with an equally ugly face. These tensions in education can be observed on the (i) national political level, and (ii) school-student level.

Class tensions are clearly visible at the top political echelons, socio-economic group level and even at caste community level. Sometimes tensions become visible because of the covert action of the members of these groups, and sometimes they become visible because of the covert talk on education of the members of these groups.

Opinions are available on all aspects and branches of education. We shall, however, limit ourselves to public schools and college education. There is a definite reason for this. Public school education, because of the English language which enjoys a prestigeous position in India, and is thus ultimately connected with economic gains, and college education because of its direct link with economic gains, occupy important places in the whole socio-economic and educational set-up of the country. Naturally, they are capable of creating more strains and tensions.

Two clear-cut opinions are available about the public schools. One favours not only the continuation of the existing public schools but also their proliferation. Those who take this side argue that these schools provide better education, and thus, produce intellectual aristocrats who are badly needed by the country. This view is supported by no less a person than M.C. Chagla, who has been our Union Education Minister. The opponents of the public schools also include top politicans. For example, Mr. Kamaraj has often expressed himself against such schools.

The opponents argue that these institutions militate against the spirit of equality. Some of them describe the very existence of such *public schools as a basic contradiction in Indian democracy*. The "plea" of producing intellectual aristocrats is also not accepted by these people. They feel that, if seen in the light of history, all aristocracies degenerate into hereditary aristocracies. They argue, more over, that the talent, the energy, and the genius will speak out them selves during the normal course of education. So there is no need of public schools. The opponents of public schools are sore primarily for the reason that most of those who get public school education do it on the strength of their money and not on the strength of their intellect. They want a general movement to curb privilege

and to bring about greater equality of educational opportunity. It should be stated that the protagonists and the opponents of public schools at the national political level belong to different socio-economic classes.

In spite of all the opposition, any radical measures to abolish public schools, however, appear impossible, *for the reason that resistance would be extremely strong from the upper two classes.* There is a bitter struggle for economic gains, and since education is one instrument for securing these, the upper two classes have a definite vested interest in the continuation of such institutions.

The lower three classes, as a result of this situation, remain in constant tension. The proletariat and the lower middle class seldom send their children to public schools for the simple reason that they cannot afford it. While the proletariat, barring a few industrial workers, is not much conscious politically or educationally, the lower middle class feels very sore. It has got a high aspiration level, but no money to back the aspirations. It generally remains in tension and is inclined to denounce the whole set up—political, economic and educational. The middle class occupies a different position. It mentally associates itself with the upper middle class. And because good education, which can bring rich returns, is the only hope for improving economic and social status, many members of this class do not denounce public education. They look for the day when they would find it easy to send their children to these schools. Some send their children to such schools after literally "cutting their bellies". Those who find themselves nearer to the lower middle class, rather than upper middle class feel dissatisfied and restless and want that public school education should go only by strict merit.

What is true of public school education is, more or less, true of college education also. This branch of education is more clearly and more directly tied up with the economic prosperity of the individuals. "Only prosperity can lead to more prosperity" has been found very true here. A vivid example would clarify it. This example is taken from the high school of a small town of Punjab.

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*The Government's effort to offer scholarships, etc., to the gifted children for public school education are hopelessly inadequate.

The four high school students who got the first four positions in matriculation in the school merit list, could not go to college because of their poor economic condition, while some of these who did very badly got admission into a college the next day. This was only because of difference in economic conditions. The sad plight of those four students cannot be described. There is no need for giving more such examples. It would suffice to quote Mr. Desai who writes :

> "Education being costly and prolonged, only those who belong to the rich and upper middle class can take full advantage of it The various studies undertaken to invesgate the caste, vocational and income background of the students taking higher or specialized education, have revealed that these students spring from the upper strata of the Indian society."

Tensions are not only happening at the national political economic and social level but they are also very much there at the school-student level. The reasons for the tension are practically the same that the students belong to different castes and classes. They are, to be more precise, taking place more at the class level and less at the caste level. These tensions and strains manifest themselves in various ways. For example, the children of the upper two classes can easily engage tuitions and thus come closer to the teacher. Moreover, their dress, their conveyance in which they come, the branch packets which they bring with them, all carry a mark of their class. And this all contributes to the mental conflict and complexes of the sons of the other three classes. The children belonging to the upper two classes start getting a belief that they are superior. Even the teacher cannot act impartially. He would also always hesitate to ask for some petty work from the students who belong to the upper two classes because of his own inferiority in the field of education and money. But as soon as some occasion of showing favour comes he is normally on the side of the rich students.

An informal talk with some of the merit scholars of public schools (most of them generally belong to the lower classes) specially adolescentces, shows unmistakably that they find it hard to adjust themselves with students of the privileged class. They tend to develop morbid inferiority, negative attitudes and some other personality malformations.

At present the country is not providing a psychologically more levelled and more egalitarian society educationally. This leads to many class strains and tensions. If the present gap between classes, which is widening day by day, is allowed to continue, such strains and tensions may "progress" to a breaking point, thus bringing more chaotic conditions in the country. If public schools are to continue, they must be fully controlled by the government and only merit students should be admitted. The same should be the case with college education in the country.

Education of a Nomadic Community in India : A Sociological Case Study

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I. Introduction

The problems of the rehabilitation of nomadic communities in India are very serious. Most of these communities are classified as scheduled tribes and some of them are classified as scheduled castes. Several State governments and social welfare agencies are making efforts to rehabilitate them, but the measure of success achieved by them has not been satisfactory. Some papers have been published and seminars organized on the educational problems of backward classes and scheduled communities, but in absence of many concrete sociological or anthropological research studies all these forums have remained more or less ineffective. The big mistake of treating the problems of all those communities as identical is being committed by many social planners and social workers interested in them. The individual characteristics and needs of these communities are generally ignored while preparing schemes for their rehabilitation.

In this research paper, a case study of the education of the Gaduliya Lohars, a nomadic community of Rajasthan, is being presented. The author studied the society, culture and social change of this community for about four years from October 1959 to January 1964. He conducted his study in sixteen bands and sub-bands and fourteen colonies of the Gaduliya Lohars in Rajasthan and collected first-hand data on almost all aspects of the life of these people. He observed and analysed also the informal as well as formal educational system of this community in course of his study.

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II. The Gaduliya Lohars : A Brief Profile

The Gaduliya Lohars are a backwad caste of wandering blacksmiths who are found in many States of India e.g., Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujrat and Maharashtra.   However, they are concentrated maioly in Rajasthan which they believe is their State of origin. They are known under different names in the different States e.g., *Bhubalia* or *Bhuvalia* in the Punjab ; *Lohpitta* or *Gadi Lohar* in Delhi and Uttar Pradesh ; *Chittoriya Lohar, Chitodi Lahar, Panchal Lohar* or *Gadi, Lohar* in Madhya Pradesh : *Belani, Ghisadi, Dhumkuria, Kunwar Khati, Chittoriya Lohar* or *Rajput Lahar* in Gujrat and Maharashtra. In Rajasthan, their different names are popular e.g., *Bhubalia* and *Lohpitta* in the north-eastern region ; *Gadi Lohar* and *Gaduliya Lohar* in the north-western and central regions and *Gadulia Lohar* or *Gadalia Lohar* in the southern region. They were mentioned as *Gadolia Lohar* in the Report of the Marwar Ceosus, 1891 ; *Gadia Lohar* in Webb's 'These Ten Years' (1941); *Gadi Lohar* in the Report of the All India Gadi Lohar Convention, Chittorgarh, 1955 ; *Gadia Lohar* in some articles written by their great supporter, Manikya Lal Varma who has been the General Secretary of the 'All India Association of the Servants of Nomadic Tribes,' and other social workers and a few officers of the Social Welfare Department of the State ; *Gadia Lohar* in 'All India Enquiry—Nomadic Tribes Report.'

The most popular name of the community in Rajasthan is *Gaduliya Lohar*. As a matter of fact, the words *Gadi, Gadia, Gadoliya* or *Gaduliya* are simply the synonyms of bullock cart which is an essential possession of each household of these blacksmiths. In Rajasthani language, the word *Goduliya* is used for the typically designed bullock-carts of these wandering Blacksmiths. As such the writer considers that out of the several names by which this community is known the most correct name is *Gaduliya Lohar*.

Population

The Gaduliya Lohars of the State were enumerated for the first time in the Census of 1941. Then their number was reported to be 6,970 persons (Webb., 1941 : 178). The correctness of these figures is doubtful in view of the fact that this census was

conducted in February which is one of the busiest months for the Gaduliya Lohar nomads. Most of them are then dispersed in very small villages throughout the State and many move out to the neighbouring States in search of the blacksmithy work. The community was not enumerated in the Censuses of 1951 and 1961, because it has been listed neither as a Scheduled Caste nor as a Scheduled Tribe nor as an ex-criminal or denotified tribe. In order to survey their economic conditions, a committee appointed by the State Revenue Department conducted an enumeration of the Gaduliya Lohars in 1955. Accordingly, 16,648 persons were reported in 3,611 families. As this enumeration was completed in the months of extreme heat when their bands and sub-bands invariably return to their *thiyas*, *i.e.*, yearly encampments, it may be considered to be a fairly valid enumeration. On the basis of these figures, we may roughly estimate that the present figures should be in the neighbourhood of 20,000 persons in 4,000 families—nomadic and sedeotarized combined.

Previous Studies

The Gaduliya Lohars have so far not received as much ethnographic attention as they deserve. In an appendix of his 'These Ten Years—A short account of the 1941 Census Operations in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara,' the author A.W.T. Webb, the Superintendent of that census, gave a small account of the life of the community. Although based on field work his description is lacking in many important respects. This is because Webb neither devoted sufficient time nor made his study broadbased enough to cover the Gaduliya Lohars of all the regions of the State. After Webb, nobody showed any interest in them for about fourteen years. It was only in 1955 that a number of articles and booklets were published by newspapers and the State Government respectively to serve as publicity material for the forthcoming 'All India Gaduliya Lohar Convention' held at Chittorgarh on April 6, 1955. All these publications simply reproduced the fascinating myths and brief ethnographic descriptions recorded by Webb fourteen years back.

Historical Background

The Gaduliya Lohars are characterised with five taboos, namely not to return to the Chittorgarh Fort, not to live in permanently

settled homes, not to light a candle in night, not to keep their cots in the carts in the right manner, and not to keep a rope for drawing water from a well. They attribute their taboos to their Rajput ancestors who, it is believed, prepared iron weapons for the army of a Rajput Ruler of Chittorgarh but escaped from the Fort when it was attacked by Akbar. Then they took a pledge to remain a nomadic people observing the above self-imposed taboos till the freedom and glory of the Fort were revived. Although no historical evidence is available as such, this tradition among the Gaduliya Lohars is *fairly* strong. Moreover, some of their customs and beliefs, revealed through their actual practices, lend much support to the traditional account of the origin of the community.

If their contention that their ancestors belonged to the upper caste of the Rajputs is accepted, it is really painful to imagine the different factors which must have worked in lowering the social prestige of the community gradually more and more till at last they were thrown to a very low rung of the ladder of the Hindu Society. The informants believe that probably the marriage of their ancestors, who escaped from the Chittorgarh Fort and decided to be a wandering people, with women of the low castes like the Khatis and Malis lowered the prestige of their newly formed community in the eyes of the public in general. Some informants believed the adoption of the *nata* system (re-marriage of a widow or a divorced woman) also to be an important factor. Webb discovered that their adoption of the practice of castrating bullocks secretly like untouchables was offending to the Hindu sentiments and that was why they began to be considered by the upper caste people to be no better than the untouchables, (1941 : 145). Besides these facts, one should not lose sight of the facts of their poverty, illiteracy, dirty bodies and clothes, blacksmithy trade which is looked down by the Hindus in particular, *and the damage to their prestige caused by their own taboos,* especially by that of not keeping a rope for drawing [water from a well. It forces them to stand at the foot of the well like an untouchable begging before the upper caste people to pour water in their empty pots. All these circumstances during the last four centuries demonstrate how a historical accident almost completely changed the socio-cultural life of the community.

Social Structure

The Gaduliya Lohars observe caste endogamy. They are divided into ten *nakhs* i.e., sub-castes which are found in the Rajputs also. They are : Bodana, Chauhan, Chawda, Dabi, Gehlot, Panwar or Parmar, Parihar or Padibar, Rathore, Sankhla and Solanki. An old Gaduliya Lohar informed the writer that some Gaduliya Lohars belonging to Tankhla, Chankhla and Kankhla *gots* come under the Tak or Tank sub-caste. The researcher, however, did not come across any person belonging to this sub-caste. Most of the sub-castes are divided into many clans. A Gaduliya Lohar does not marry in the clan of his father and in the lineages of his mother, paternal grand mother and maternal grandmother. No parallel or cross cousin marriages are practised by them. Senior levirate and sororate are recognized but they are rather less popular.

Nearly all their kinship terms are exactly those which are prevalent among most of the Hindus in rural Rajasthan. Chiefly two sets of avoidance taboos are observed : firstly, between a daughter-in-law ; and secondly, between a son-in-law and his parents-in-law. A son-in-law is assigned a position much lower than his father-in-law ; when the latter is sitting on a cot, the former has to sit on ground. In the marriage of his brother-in-law or sister-in-law, the son-in-law has to serve his father-in-law and all other classificatory fathers-in-law and the guests like a menial. The sight of a son-in-law is generally avoided, especially in the morning as he is believed to be a personification of the God of Death.

The Gaduliya Lohars observe many customary etiquettes and practices associated with kinship. *They are related to the addressing of the different kins,* eating the leavings of their plates, mode of greeting and reception, observance of *purda* by a woman for a few months after her marriage, giving customary gifts to all real and classificatory sisters and mothers, and *suckling the infant of a deceased woman.* All these are in keeping with the traditions popular in the Rajputs generally. Some *Gaduliya Lohar* males establish ritual friendship also which is usually uni-sexual, voluntary, dyadic, between non-kins, highly valued in society, given *symbolic formulation* in terminology and associated with mutual trust and reciprocal obligations.

Domestic Units

The home of a family group is its *gaduliya i.e.*, hullock-cart. The household generally centres round the elementary family of a man, his wife and their children with the occasional additions of unmarried or widowed relatives who would otherwise be lonely in the family, or the wife and children of the only son or the youngest son of the parents.

The average number of persons in the families in three bands was found to be 4·9 and the average number of children was 3·3. The over-all average number of persons in the 506 families in all contacted by the writer came to 5·03.

The household occupying a *gaduliya* is a property-owning group. The right to dispose off the property is controlled by the male head of the household. The earnings of all the members of the family are treated as the joint income of the household. An individual may have a superior social position in the family in the following conditions; being a male, being a person belonging to higher generation, having higher social status or being the ognate of the husband rather than that of the wife. The economic status of every member in the family is usually not the same as his or her social status in the family. Each Gaduliya Lohar domestic unit comes into being, grows and expands, and finally dissolves and is then replaced by the new group emerging out of it. Its developmental cycle has thus three important phases ; phase of expansion, phase of fission and the phase of replacement.

After his *muklawa i.e.*, post-marriage ceremony, a son establishes his separate household with almost all the needed appurtenances including a bullock-cart provided by his parents. He is often helped by his relatives and friends in the band by way of the loan of tools and utensils etc , if he asks for any of them. Children take birth in the family within a few years. When they become adolescents and begin to add to the family income by doing a lot of blacksmithy work with their parents, the household greatly improves its financial condition. This goes on till the eldest son separates from the family after his *muklawa*. The phase of fission sets in soon thereafter. As other sons and daughters are married and they leave, the parental family suffers a considerable loss of

viability. Divorce or death of the householder or of his wife also causes or aggravates the loss of the household viability. In the third phase that of its replacement, the loss of the household viability is corrected by some arrangements like the institution of ultimogeniture, remarriage of the widowed householder or the widow, adoption of a son if the couple proves barren, and temporary assistance provided by the relatives and friends in the band.

Bands

On the basis of the genealogical investigations carried out by the writer in a number of bands, it may be inferred that the Gaduliya Lohar bands are structured on the basis of the bonds of kinship and the considerations of mutual friendship, mutual love and sympathy for the people in adversity. The avoidance taboo operating between a son-in-law and his parents-in-law (particular father-in-law) deters the former to live in the band of the latter unless his wife dies leaving behind young children, for the sake of whose proper upbringing joining that band seems almost inevitable to him.

As a primary group, their small band or the sub-band is characterised by direct contact, intimacy, mutual identification, neighbourhood controls and band-loyalty among its members. It is a small cosmos for them. A sub-band is always exogamous in nature. The process of decision-making in a small band is quite simple. Old people advise the younger ones to when, where and how they should move out to different villages. The mode of encampment is guided by practical considerations of the safety of their bullocks and widows as also to keep away from the thatched huts of village, lest any spark of their fireplace should burn the huts.

Panchayat

Every sub-band has a *panch* elected on the basis of virtues and experience, and not due to his parentage. All the *panchas* of the different sub-bands in a particular area (usually consisting of a district or two) form the central *panchayat* which usually decides almost all the issues. Then there is the highest *panch* in one region who occupies the post by heredity. He is invited to settle very serious cases. His decisions are binding and there is no further

appeal against them. All the *panchas* are expected to be wise and impartial and people of good character, but many informants have sorrowfully acknowledged how most of their *panchas* these days are led away by bribe and wine. The Gaduliya Lohars decide their issues through their own *panchayats* and they do not like the interference of the Police and the State courts in their affairs. Their *panchayat* deals with the disputes regarding social ceremonies, breach of customary etiquette, cases of moral lapses and quarrels. The punishments usually given are : feeding the *panchas*, paying fine in cash, visiting the palaces of Hindu pilgrimage and offering charity to Brahmin priests there, and trial by fire or water which is given in very rare cases these days.

Material Culture

A typical two-wheeled bullock-cart known as *gaduliya* is an inevitable possession of every nomadic Gaduliya Lohar household. All valuable articles are kept in the *thalia*, the closed cup-hoard-like front portion of the cart, while all the tools, clothes, grain bags, utensils etc., are placed on the main structure. Fuel and scrap iron are placed in a basket hanging below the rear portion of the cart. All these things are placed in a sort of systematic arrangement, and it is really remarkable how a lot of household effects are carried by a single cart, typically built as such. Their articles of daily use and tools are like those popular in rural Rajasthan.

As far as their personal cleanliness is concerned, it may be seen that they are not at all careful about it. Daily bath is not once in a fortnight or even in a month. The women are fond of hair-dressing but young women and children, are fond of tatooing for the sake of bodily decoration as well as for revealing their love for their beloved ones or the kins with whom they have joking relations. It has been observed that the Gaduliya Lohars possess the basic stratum of the material culture of the rural people of Rajasthan in general, yet most of their possessions are geared to the needs of their own nomadic mode of life.

Economic Life

The physical features of the different regions of the State have guided the selection of the movement routes of the different bands of the Gaduliya Lohars to a very great extent. As far as possible,

areas of excessive desert, plateau, hills, ravines and rivers are avoided as it is difficult for their heavy carts to cross them. Each band has its own traditional place of encampment near some village or town. Each band has its own fixed route of movement and other bands usually do not interfere. It has been discovered by the researcher, on the basis of the study of sixteen bands and sub-bands moving in the different regions of the State, that usually a route ranges between 50 and 80 miles if the region is very fertile and thickly populated, and between 120 to 250 miles if it is a hilly, plateau, desert or semi-desert region which is less agricultural and sparsely populated. Their yearly movement cycle is regulated by the agriculturists' needs of iron articles and their repairs and bullocks in the different months of the year as well as their own needs of the nomadic existence.

As blacksmiths the Gaduliya Lohars limit their activities to the repairs and preparation of iron articles by the method of 'hot work' (forging technique) and 'cold work' (nailing technique) ; no acids or alkalies are used. The art of casting is also not practised. Old rusted iron scraps and tins are used. Their main work-tools include *dhankanl* (leather bellows), *eran* (anvil), *ghan* (heavy hammer), *hatada* (small hammer), *chhini* (chisel), *behno, chanpan, retl*, (file), *sandasi* and *Kaglisandasi* (pincers), *Kutta* (holding lever), *laharia* (stirrer), *aklal, parkar* (divider), *behna* or *subba* (double hole borer), *Kandli bina* and *chakri* (measuring disc).

They usually cater to the needs of the agriculturists in villages. Besides agricultural tools, they prepare some iron articles of the daily need of the town people also. All their articles are rough or very less finished. They are very simple things. A list of the names and prices of about fifty iron articles prepared by the Gaduliya Lohars in the different regions of Rajasthan compiled by the writer showed that about three fourths of them cost between Re. 0.06 and Re. 0.75 only.

They carry on bullock trade as a side business. They appear to be well versed in the art of haggling while setting a transaction. They know how to select a good bullock for themselves, and also how to fetch maximum profit on the sale of their weak and over-worked bullocks. They are very tactful in *adla-badli* (exchange) of bullocks with villagers in cattle fairs in the villages situated along

their movement routes. All losses and gains in such transactions are believed to be due to one's luck. Their reputation as honest and simple workers of iron is blurred by their disrepute as very clever and even dishonest bullock traders, and so only poor or ignorant villagers fall prey to their tactices of very courteous speech and haggling. A transaction usually fetches a profit usually between Rs. 5 and Rs. 25 on one bullock. They attend most of the cattle fairs held in different villages in their regions between July and October every year.

The Gaduliya Lohars observe no holiday from work except on the days of ceremonies and on *Bhadon-ki-gyaras* i.e., the 11th day of the month of *Bhadon* when they worship their Goddess *Kali Mai* of Chittorgarh. Little competition and jealousy are found in their society. Their bands are usually structured on the basis of close kinship ties. The nuclear family itself provides sufficient incentives to carry on productive activities. Their average income as revealed by the writer's investigations during 1959-63, comes to Rs. 64·78. Whatever earnings a household makes, are spent by it oo its needs. It is estimated that the families carrying on the blacksmithy trade only run under the debt of Rs. 150/- on an average, while those carrying on blacksmithy as well as bullock-trade run under the debt of Rs. 350/- on an average. These loans are taken from the *baniyas* (shopkeepers) belonging to the village or towo where a particulae band has its traditional *thiya*. The rates of interest charged are very high, generally 20 percent to 25 percent per annum at present. On the whole, the economic condition of the bands operating in the fertile areas of the Alwar, Bharatpur, Jaipur and Pali districts is far better than their counterpart in the districts of the State. The economic condition of some bands of Ajmer, Bikaner, Nagore and Jodhpur districts is extremely pitiable.

Life Cycle

The *rites de passage* of the Gaduliya Lohars are almost like all other low castes amoog the Hindus. The naming ceremony and the circumbulatioo ceremony in matriage are performed by a Brahmin priest. They allow divorce and re-marriage like many lower communities in the State. Their funeral rites are performed like other Hindus. The ashes and bones of the cremated body are

collected and usually sent for immersion in the Ganga at Hardwar or in any other holy river or lake in Rajasthan. In case it is not possible due to poverty or any other reason, they are buried in a deep hole near the camping site of the band in the village where the death has occurred. A few cases of carrying the corpse in the form of a *biman* i.e., seated on a decorated chair, as practised by the upper caste wealthy Hindus, have been noticed in the Gaduliya Lohars also. They probably reveal the tendency of *sanskritization* growing in them also. There are no particular puberty rites. About 21.5 percent children are married by the age they are fifteen, but their *muklawas* (post-marriage ceremony) are performed when the girls reach the age of fifteen or sixteen and are able to carry on the blacksmithy work and other household duties independently. The partners are not allowed to see each other before marriage and they do not live together before their *muklawa*. Poor persons often indulge in *atta-satta* i.e., exchange marriage in which two persons marry each other's sister.

Childhood is the period of effective enculturation of the children, youth that of hard-work and enjoyment of pleasures, and old age too of hard-work, worries and of exercising social control on the younger ones.

Religion

Religion is a fairly effective element in their social organisation. Several beliefs, rituals and symbols are observed by them with a constant desire to gain control over the difficulties inherent in their nomadic mode of life and worries of personal nature like illness, barrenness, poverty etc. It is in this context that they venerate several Gods and Goddesses from the Hindu pantheon, i.e., venerate several Gods and Goddesses from the Hindu pantheon, i.e., Shivji, Hanumanji, Sheetla Mata, Kali Mai and Bhaironji, as well as a number of local dieties like Ramdeoji Pir, Gugaji, Tejaji and Pabuji which are venerated by the people of low castes and even untouchables in Rajasthan. Their two specific dieties are Aie Lacha and Khetla. They celebrate most of the Hindu festivals. *Ram Navmi* is their very important festival. They do not celebrate *Bhaiya dooj* or *Raksha bandhan* which is a very important festival of the Hindus. But they are not able to .... for this omission. They sometimes visit Hardwar also

where they have a fixed *Panda* (Hindu priest-cum-genealogist). They do not have any sbamans among them. They seek the services of the *Bhopas* (Shamans) of other castes and Brahmins pandits for performing their religious ceremonies. A number of good and bad omens are popular in them. They have a general belief that giving charity of food and grain to Brahmins hermit, birds and animals is good. They have built up a system of moral values which constitute their world-view. The traditional Hindu beliefs in soul and re-birth are shared by the Gaduliya Lohars also.

Many people have come under the influence of the teachings of Kabir Dass Ji a reformist saint of the Hindus and Muslims who lived in the medieval period. Several couplets and songs composed by Kabir Dass Ji and his associates are popular among them. They have been instrumental in popularising the philosophical beliefs about the futility of one's body, futility of this worldly life, hollowness of social relations in this world, need of keeping one's soul sublime by doing good actions, realising one's true self and doing service to the fellowmen. These beliefs have been brought home to the Gaduliya Lohars by a member of their own saints. Their folk tales also underline these beliefs and values.

Art

The Gaduliya Lohars are deficient in plastic and graphic arts as these activities require long hours of leisure which the Gaduliya Lohars cannot afford to have. However, they have a fairly developed oral literature which is called *Farsi* in their dialect as well as in the dialects of the different regions in which their different bands wander. Their own dialect *Farsi* is a mixture of Marwari, Mewari, Malwi and Gujrati words along with a sprinkling of some words which are specifically their own creations.

Most of their folk songs are religious and love songs. They are generally anonymous. They are full of interesting similies, proverbs, exaggerations, onomatopein and fairly appropriate emotional expressions. They are an effective instrument in reinforcing the beliefs, customs and values of the community and in amusing the singers and the listeners alike. Their riddles are mostly about their personal belongings, rural life and objects of nature. Their myths and folk-tales have diverse motifs *e.g.*, the wonders of their saints

and Gods, deceits of false hermits, fulfilment of sex desire, worldly wisdom and tit for tat etc. They constitute a fairly potent medium of amusement as well as of teaching morals and worldly wisdom to the members of the community. There are no professional story-tellers; old men and *Bhats* (geneologists) often tell such stories. The mobile store house of their oral literature is constantly filled with new borrowings and new creations as the bands move on their traditional routes every year. There is nothing notable about their folk music and dance. They are enthusiastic, interesting and full of fun, but not serious and artistic. Their comics are very short, usually obscene and lacking in much imagination. There are no dramas. On the whole, it is seen that their art is closely knit in the fibre of the Rajasthani culture.

The New Horizon

The Gaduliya Lohars were the first nomadic community in Rajasthan who received attention of the Social Workers and the State after Independence due to the efforts of Manikya Lal Varma, Ex-Member of Parliament and the great interest shown by the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. A very colourful and impressive All-India Gaduliya Lohar Convention was organized by the State at Chittorgarh on April 6, 1955. Pandit Nehru led a procession of the Gaduliya Lohars to the Chittorgarh Fort and urged them to *give up their nomadism and to settle down since their vow to see Chittorgarh Fort had already been fulfilled along with the Independence of India as a whole.* He as well as the Chief Minister of Rajasthan promised generous facilities for the settlers.

Soon thereafter the State started more than a dozen colonies to sedentarize the nomadic Gaduliya Lohars. The first colony was started at Chittorgarh in 1956. Next year, colonies were started at Khanpura (Ajmer), Jodhpur, Bikaner, Pali, Merta, Pushkar, Kishangarh, Beawar and Sojat. Less significant efforts were made in some villages also. There the settlers were provided several facilities like the free gift of housing and agricultural land, housing and agricultural subsidies and loans, school, co-operative societies, Blacksmithy Production-cum-Training Centres and supply of cheap coal and iron. The response of the nomads was poor from the very beginning. After much persuasion, only *a few families chose to*

settle in each of the above-mentioned colonies. For those who chose to accept sedentary mode of life in the colonies, a new horizon had appeared.

Within the next five or six years, most of these colonies met miserable failures. A very large number of the settlers deserted and refused to leave nomadism. Those who have continued to stay till now are there only because they are tied to their houses built by taking State loans which they are unable to repay. An interplay of the psychological, traditional, socio-cultural and organizational factors was responsible for their failure. It has been discovered that the planners had failed to take into account the psychological characteristics, mythological and traditional beliefs and the features of socio-economic organization of the Gaduliya Lohars before initiating their blanket plan of rehabilitation. Moreover, hasty, in-experienced and at some places corrupt practices in the execution of the sedentarization schemes have also been responsible for turning their horizon of hope into that of hopelessness and misery.

It would be pertinent here to point out the present day stir or heart-beat of the community. Its traditional life is confronted with two significant factors—economic crisis, and the State efforts to sedentarize them, of course, not so enthusiastically now. The growing impact of the economic crisis is likely to turn the Gaduliya Lobars into ill-paid and miserable manual workers if they fail to improve their technology themselves, the chances of which seem to be remote. So far as the second factor is concerned, it has been observed that although the sedentarization experiments have failed, they have atleast set the nomadic Gaduliya Lobars to think rather seriously on this matter. Their growing economic hardships are also compelling them to do so. They might be willing to settle down provided they are given boosing and shop-establishment facilities in the cities and villages of their liking so that their economic security and socio-cultural cohesion are ensured.

It is against this background of the life of the Gaduliya Lohars that their educational system is being presented and analyzed.

III. The Traditional System of Education of the Gaduliya Lobars

Informal training in blacksmithy and bullock-trade constitute the essential aspects of the informal system of the education of the

Gaduliya Lohars. Small children observe their parents and relatives doing blacksmithy work day in and day out. From their early childhood, they imitate their activities in their own plays and thus gradually they learn to prepare new iron articles and to carry out repairs of old iron articles. Proficiency in the traditional blacksmithy trade of their community and in carrying on courteous and business-like conversation with their clients are considered to be the desirable characterstics of every adolescent boy or girl among them. The parents encourage their wards to take active part in these activities. Whenever the former are doing these activities, they invariably engage the latter in them ; no body is allowed to sit idle and while away time.

Similarly, whenever the Gaduliya Lohars go to cattle fairs in villages to do bullock-trading they often take their young boys and girls, especially the boys, with them. These children constantly watch as to how their parents and other Gaduliya Lohars carry out business deals in the market and what characterstics do bullocks of different varieties possess. They learn so many things about the bullock-trade by their close observation. As a result of this, Gaduliya Lohar boys of even ten or twelve years of age are often found unhesitatingly dealing with the prospective buyers or sellers of cattle. Thus by imitation as well as by learning by doing they learn the traditional vocations of their community.

Besides these activities, boys and girls receive informal education in other activities of their daily life involving a fairly marked division of labour in their society. The girls learn to cook meals, do sewing, rearing children and attending to other activities usually prescribed for women in their community, where-as the boys look after the bullocks and take them to ponds or wells for drinking water. The work-shirkers are often secolded and even beaten by their parents. The parents and their relatives keep a watch on the moral character of their girls.

The children receive educatinn of the religious beliefs, rituals and customs and other cultural traditions by taking part as participant observers in almost all such activities going on in their bands from time to time. The knnwledge of how different rituals and functions are performed in their community is learnt by imitation and by their actual participatinn. The Gaduliya Lohar folk lore is

full of folksongs, riddles and folk tales and religious stories. Elderly people often tell religious stories and recite religious songs. Many grown up men and women and adolescents compose original songs, couplets and stories in which the ideal behaviour pattern of their community life is emphasized and the emerging social change ridiculed. These compositions form the verbal or unwritten literature of these nomads. Persons belonging to all age groups are keenly interested in enjoying as well as in creating folk lore.

Through several techniques like direct instruction, systems, of prize and reward, ridicule and learning by doing, the processes of socialization and enculturation work in the Gaduliya Lohar society. All celebrations, rituals, activities, behaviour pattern, world view, hospitality towards guests, *panchayat* sessions, etc. in their social collectivity act as rich and powerful environmental factors in the development of the typical personality of a Gaduliya Lohar.

The Gaduliya Lohars are illiterate people. Only a few persons who have left nomadic mode of life and adopted sedentarization have sent some of their children to schools. The illiterate Gaduliya Lohars use their traditional secret dialect which is used while conversing amongst themselves before non-Gaduliya Lohars. Children learn it as their mother tongue from the very beginning. Besides it, they acquire a working knowledge of the regional languages popular in the areas in which their bands traditionally move in course of their yearly cycle of movement. This knowledge enables them to converse with their clients and to understand the folk-songs and folk-tales popular in those regions. Some Gaduliya Lohars acquire so much mastery in these languages that they are able to compose their original songs in them. In course of his field work throughout the length and breadth of Rajasthan, the researcher came across no less than a dozen young boys and girls who were talented original composers of songs in their *Farasi* dialect and some other regional dialects like Gujrati, Malwi, Punjabi, Ahirwati etc. Had they been spotted out by All India Radio and other cultural institutions of the State, their talent would have received its due recognition. Those engaged in their rehabilitative measures have never thought about this aspect of their development.

The Formal Education of the Gaduliya Lohars

There has been a constant lack of a suitable formal system of

education for the Gadnliya Lohars since long. Some arrangement for providing formal education to those who had agreed to settle down in the State-sponsored Gaduliya Lohar colonies was made by the organizers of those colonies. These arrangements were of two types—arrangement for providing vocational education and arrangement for providing general education like the one imparted in other schools in the State.

Provisions for Vocational Education

For imparting education in blacksmithy, training-cum-production workshops were opened in the Gaduliya Lohar colonies at only three places like Chittorgarh, Khanpura (Ajmer) and Sojat. The workshop at Chittorgarh was started on August 6, 1956. During 1957-58, 31 Guduliya Lohar boys were admitted to receive the blacksmithy training on a stipend of Rs. 30 per month. Out of them 13 boys completed their training—nine on August 8, 1957 and four on November, 22, 1957, and the rest left their training unfinished due to the lack of proper facilities of training and meagre amount of scholarship available in the workshop. There were four posts of blacksmithy instructors in the workshop, half of which remained vacant for a very long period. An old Gaduliya Lohar was appointed against one post and a non-Gaduliya Lohar was appointed against the other one. No satisfactory arrangement for imparting blacksmithy training could be possible. Several sub-standard and worthless machines and tools were purchased due to corrupt practices by the organizers concerned. The Gaduliya Lohars were also apathetic towards the training and other facilities made available to them in the colonies. According to the authorities of the workshop, the Gaduliya Lohar trainees were workshirkers and insincere people and so that they could not derive any profit out of the training programme.

The second training-cum-production workshop was established in the Gaduliya Lohar Colony, Khanpura (Ajmer) in March 1959. Mismanagement spelt the failure of this workshop also within three years. The inhabitants informed the researcher that maunds of waste and old iron and sub-standard machinery were purchased by the organizers of the workshop in collaboration with some corrupt Gaduliya Lohar leaders of the colony. The workshop continued to run in loss for a long time. The researcher was given to understand

by the iohabitants of the colooy that they wanted to learn new techniques of the blacksmithy trade so that they might be efficient and the workshop might also ruo in profit, but the maoager used to say, "This is a governmeot workshop and I am its iocharge. You have absolutely oo husiness to advise or ask me about its loss or gain. You merely remain contented with your daily wages and work as I ask you to do". The workshop had coostantly been going in loss since its begiooiog due to the lack of sale of its products. It was, therefore, closed by the State government in February 1962. This put the inhabitants of the colony in great difficulty. The officials of the Social Welfare Department aod the social workers associated with the colony unaoimously attributed the failure of the workshop to the "lazy and mischievious Gaduliya Lohars who would work slowly aod with less zeal and labour, for they had nothing to loose. They were assured of their fixed daily wages whatsoever was their output. The Goveromeot had crippled the former energies of these people by giving them subsidies and loaos like charity.

Mutoal dissensioos amoog the Gaduliya Lobars aod unhealthy aod exploitative bureaucratic attitudes of the workshop officers were really respoosible for the closure of the workshop. . The workshop officials were really responsible for the closure of the workshop. The workshop at Sojat also failed to deliver the goods due to the lack of facilities and proper management. All these three workshops were thus of little help to the Gaduliya Lohars. Thousaods of rupees invested on them were wasted aod ont even a hundred persons could receive proper blacksmithy training io them. No facilities for providing blacksmithy training could be provided in rest of the eleveo Gaduliya Lobar colonies in the State.

Provisions for General Education

The Gaduliya Lohars have beeo listed as a backward caste in Rajasthan. Hence they are eligible to receive free education in all educational institutions and free lodging and boarding in the hostels run by the Social Welfare Department fnr the students nf scheduled and backward communities. Being illiterate, superstitious and nomadic people, the Gaduliya Lohars have not been able to derive much benefit from these facilities. Although there migbt be about 20,000 Gaduliya Lohars in Rajasthan, hardly 100 Gaduliya Lohar students would be going tn schnols.

Out of the fourteen Gaduliya Lohar colonies in the State, only in the Chittorgarh colony a Gaduliya Lohar school was opened. The Gaduliya Seva Sangh, a privately managed social welfare agency which played a leading part in establishing and organizing that colony, started a boys' hostel and a middle school for the general education of the Gaduliya Lohars. A sum of about Rs. 1.50 lakhs from the Central Government and Rs. 50,000 from the State Government were received by the Sangh for the construction of the hostel and the schools. The sangh spent all this amount along with Rs. 33,000 of its own earlier savings. By 1957, twenty four rooms, one central hall, one office room and one kitchen could be constructed. The building is said to be still incomplete even after spending Rs. 1.80 lakhs.

A middle school recognized by the State Education Department was started under the control of the Sangh. It was primarily meant for the children of the Gaduliya Lohars. The State Government has since the beginning been giving a scholarship of Rs. 30 per month to each hosteler and a substantial grant to the Sangh for running the school. Thus the Sangh receives about Rs. 1.14 lakhs annually as grants out of which food, bedding, school dress, articles of daily use, text books, stationery, school fees and travelling expenditure from the colony to their homes and vice versa are provided. A report regarding the poor quality of food served to the hostellers appeared in a local paper 'Marshal' in May 1962. Personal talks with the Gaduliya Lohar hostellers taken by the researcher in September 1960 and again in April 1962 also revealed some mismanagement in the affairs of the hostel and the school. In 1962, the staff of the middle school consisted of a non-graduate and untrained youngman belonging to a local scheduled caste family, four trained matriculate teachers and one non matriculate teacher. The staff seemed to be concerned more with the appeasement of the local members of the District Congress Committee who formed the Sangh rather than with their role in the school. It was reported to the researcher by a number of parents belonging to Nagore, Merta and Jodhpur that they withdrew their children from the Gaduliya Lohar School, Chittorgarh because the teachers had been in the habit of beating them very much. During 1960-61, there were only twenty-six Gaduliya Lohar students drawn from the different

areas of the State. Children of other backward and scheduled communities were also admitted in the school and the hostel. Personal interviews with the students taken by the researcher showed that the Gaduliya Lohar students were definitely deriving a lot of benefit from the hostel and educational facilities available to them at Chittorgarh but much more remains to be done even now.

Provisions for Adult Education

There has been no provision for the education of the Gaduliya Lohar adults. No scheme of peripetitic teachers was implemented for the education of their moving bands in Rajasthan.

The failure of most of the Gaduliya Lohar colonies in the State have damped the enthusiasm of social workers and officers of the State Welfare Department considerably. The old schemes are slackening and new ones are not in sight so far.

V. Conclusion

The foregoing description and analysis of the education of the Gaduliya Lohar nomads of Rajasthan shows that although their informal system of education continues to be fairly intact as yet, their formal system of education has considerably suffered due to lack of any proper planning, organizational defects, mis-management and inadequacy of provisions. However, all Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan are not totally ignorant of the importance of formal education. Some of them living in cities like Ajmer, Barmar, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Merta city etc. have started sending their children to primary and middle schools. But this sort of desire needs to be developed in the hearts of many more people. Their blacksmithy technology being very backward, their economic gains from it are very meagre. They have failed to derive any benefit from the agricultural facilities provided in some colonies. In view of these points, it is desirable that a proper education oriented towards a better type of blacksmithy work should be provided to all age-groups of the Gaduliya Lohars so that they may become well off and find their rightful place in the big industries which are coming up very fast in our modernizing and developing Indian nation.

The case study of the Gaduliya Lohars of Rajasthan shows what incalculable human misery can be triggered off by launching rehabilitation schemes hastily without doing research into all

aspects of the life of the community under consideration. The welfare agencies are certainly shy and intolerant, if not thoroughly incompetent and willing, to conduct such researches and assess the real needs and aspirations of the people concerned, but they are always keen and swift in organizing colourful conferences, publishing multi-coloured brochures, making spectacular propaganda and procuring vast funds from government for distributing them to the people according to their own ways and whims. The welfare agencies, educational planners and teachers should give a serious thought to these various aspects of the education of the backward sections of our society without any further loss of time.

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